THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Inside

450 Cops Rehired, Curfew For Teens Imposed

DETROIT POLICE BEHIND BLACK GANG VIOLENCE



Young Detroit street gang. According to a city worker, Detroit police have infiltrated these gangs and are stirring up violence as provocateurs, setting the stage for a police state.

(Detroit, Mich.) — A Black city worker charged here last week that violence among local Black gangs is being provoked by members of the predominantly White Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) who "want to turn the inner city into a police state."

The city employee — who wishes to remain anonymous out of fear for his life — made the accusation in an exclusive interview with Donald Freed and Jeff Cohen, researchers for the Los Angeles-based Citizens Research and Investigating Committee (CRIC), which released the information to THE BLACK PANTHER. CRIC, along with Black ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood, co-authored *The Glass House Tapes*, Tackwood's story of his 10 years as an undercover agent for the Los Angeles Police Department.

Revelations of police sabotage of Black gangs comes in the wake of an August 15 incident involving between 200-300 Black youths who attacked a predominantly White crowd at downtown Detroit's Cobo Hall where the Scottish group, Average White Band, was performing. Several Whites were beaten and others had their wallets and purses taken. Twenty-nine teenagers and 18 adults were arrested following what police chief Phillip Tannian alleged was a "small scale riot."

The city government, embarrassed by the inability of the short-handed police department to handle the situation, imposed a 10 p.m. curfew for everyone under 18 years of age. In addition, it was announced that 450 policemen

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Editorial

MOTOR CITY BLUES

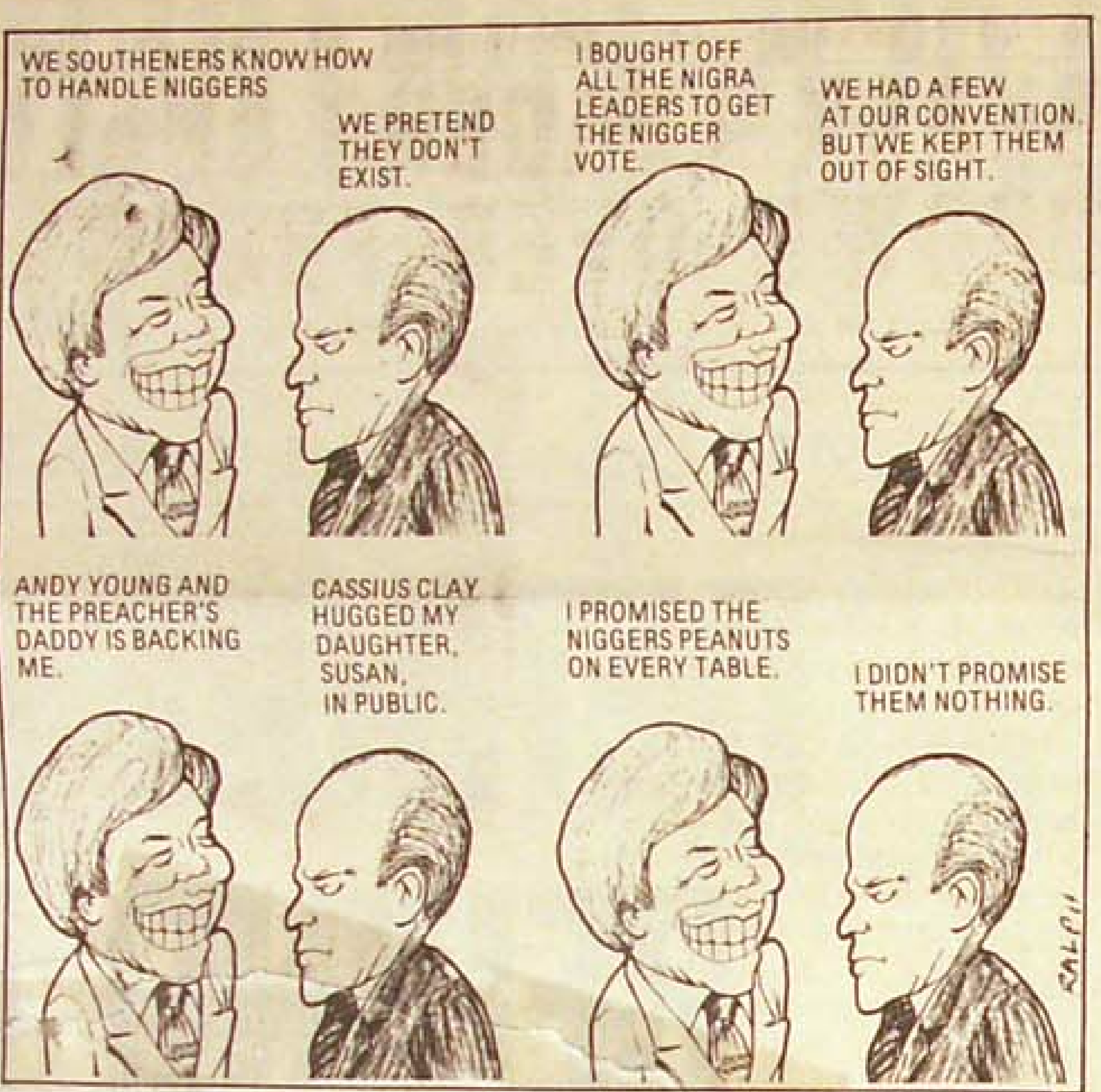
Mesmerized by slick advertising campaigns promising a "$5.00 a day job with Mr. Ford" — Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company — millions of Southern Blacks migrated to Detroit, Michigan, the center of America's powerful and wealthy automobile manufacturing industry, in the years following the two World Wars. They came seeking an escape from the rigid Jim Crow laws of the South that kept them separate and unequal, a "promised land" where they could live as decent human beings.

Today, 57 years after the end of World War I the "promised land" has turned into a nightmare. With the massive White flight to the suburbs, the "Motor City" now has a predominantly Black population with one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. For Black teenagers, unemployment stands at over 50 per cent.

Faced with mounting Black rage over the city's dangerously deteriorating economic situation, the racist White Detroit power structure, using Black teen gangs as a scapegoat for the rising crime in the city, has rehired 450 policemen who were laid off and imposed curfew regulations that smack of martial law. The situation is such that a large scale Black rebellion, such as that which erupted in the city on July 23, 1967, could break out at any moment.

The problems of Detroit are the problems of all major U.S. urban areas whose jobless and politically powerless Black and Third World populations have reached the edge of despair — who have grown weary of living crowded together in filthy tenement slums; of seeing their children go hungry daily; of sending their children to public schools that know nothing of the needs of poor and oppressed children; of being stripped of their human dignity.

Will Detroit explode again? Whatever the answer, it will serve as a warning to the American power structure that it can no longer afford to ignore the problems of the inner cities of this country.☐



Letters to the Editor

INDIANA WOMEN'S PRISON CHALLENGED

To Whom It May Concern:

The operating of Indiana Women's Prison is being challenged by a 1938 civil rights suit and a state writ of habeas corpus because of the dehumanizing conditions there at the institution. Inmates are speaking out about: unsanitary food handling; denying access to the courts; equal protection under the law; ancient toilet facilities; corporal punishment; police brutality; and guards provoking incidents to enforce rules that are outdated and have been abolished by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Recently, eight inmates were beng held in Marion County Jail in Indianapolis. Eight young, Black women for allegedly committing assault and battery on a male guard and for participation in a riot the administration claimed involved 30 Black and White women and cost $400 in damages. Yet the Department of Corrections has never tried to investigate the degrading conditions that have been printed and where the women are at the whim and caprice of guards and administrators.

The inmates at Indiana Women's Prison live in a continual atmosphere of anxiety and fear with capricious and arbitrary disciplinary rules; in antiquated cells with no plumbing, only chamberpots!

State and correction officials try to hide their atrocities from the public, forcing some women to wear shackles during visits, withholding proper medical treatment, denying access to the media or the courts, censorship of mail and communications, using barbaric lock-up units, etc. These women need help to expose these intolerable conditions that exist in this day and age. They need an open hearing on the prison, legal services and a stripping away of the veil of secrecy.

Speak out on behalf of those forgotten women at Indiana State Prison, who are suffering, right now, under inhuman conditions at that facility. Steps need to be taken to cure its ills!!

Richard E. Biggerstaff
Marcellus Fauntleroy
Inmate Legal Aides
Post Office Box 41
Michigan City, Indiana 46360

NOT FOOLED BY JIMMY CARTER

Habari gani:

I feel deeply gratified to know that there are those Black people who have not been fooled by the capitalistic and reactionary scheme of one — Jimmy Cater. As a personal note to Sister Elaine Brown and the staff of THE BLACK PANTHER paper, I feel assured that all of our leaders have not sold out for "peanuts."

Brother Emory needs to be complimented for the excellent work. This simply illustrates what comes down after the Olympics.

Once again, I say thank you for not selling out. I am in agreement with Brother Ron Dellums. "We must remain committed to lofty ideals."

Sister Elaine, I must admit I love you and especially your article on the Democratic Convention.

Yours in Love & Struggle,
Kwaku Owusu
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70802

COMMENT

Introducing CASA

By Antonio Rodriguez

The following Comment is written by Antonio Rodriguez, national coordinator of CASA — General Brotherhood of Workers, and is reprinted from the Bulletin of the Mass Party Organizing Committee, which is published in New York City.

Since the military invasion of Mexico by the U.S., the conditions for the Mexicans living in the annexed lands have been national oppression, exploitation and struggle. The forms of struggle and organization developed by Mexican people are the result of the objective and subjective conditions in which they develop.

During the military occupation and colonization, Mexican people fought back using the method of guerrillas. At the forefront were many patriots who were small landowners and ranchers.

Beginning in 1860 with the development of monopoly capital, there developed social relations of worker and boss, exploiter and exploited. Mexicans from both sides of the border became the principle labor force for the exploitation of the mines, agriculture and the railroads. These new social relations brought about the proletarianization of Mexican peasants demanding new forms of workers' struggle against exploitation. Since Mexicans were the principal labor force they became the motor behind the workers' movement in the annexed lands.

By the end of the 19th century, mutualist societies developed, organized by Mexican workers for their protection and mutual aid within the racist society. They directed many struggles of Mexican workers until the period of the depression. The mutualist societies developed upon the base of national consciousness of an oppressed people and class instinct and class consciousness.

During the period which ended with the depression of the 30s, organizations developed to struggle for the democratic rights of

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ELAINE BROWN (center) marches with San Antonio residents during HUD protest.

PROTEST VICTORY

H.U.D. Sets Date For San Antonio Inspection

(Oakland, Calif.) - In response to the demands put forward at last week's spirited demonstration by the San Antonio Tenants' Union in front of its San Francisco offices, the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has scheduled an on-site inspection of the 178-unit housing project for Wednesday, August 25.

In a letter to Tenants' Union co-president Bessie Thomas, Margaret Friedman, chief of the HUD regional offices' Housing Programs Management Branch, informed the residents that a physical inspection of OHA projects scheduled for October has been moved up to the coming week.

HUD — which under a 1937 Federal Housing Act is responsible for "decent, safe and sanitary" housing conditions where federal monies are involved — has admitted having no inspection records for San Antonio Villa for at least the past two years. The inspection demand, designed to force HUD to pressure the Oakland Housing Authority to take immediate corrective action in the Villa, was central to the Tenants' Union demands.

Over 125 San Antonio Villa residents, young and old, turned out at One Embarcadero Center in downtown San Francisco on Thursday, August 12, to demand that HUD initiate a concrete maintenance and modernization program in the besieged projects, where police brutality and allegations of a "dope supermarket" sensationalized media headlines in recent weeks. □

10,000 PERMANENT JOBS, REPLACEMENT HOUSING KEY ISSUES

BLACK LEADERS CHALLENGE GOV. BROWN OVER FREEWAY

(Oakland, Calif.) — Four prominent Black community leaders here have challenged California Governor Jerry Brown to fulfill his commitment to local residents regarding the completion of the long-stalled Grove-Shafter Freeway, paving the way for much needed jobs and replacement housing in the Oakland area.

Judge Lionel Wilson of Alameda County Superior Court, Paul Cobb, executive director of OCCUR (Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal), Elijah Turner and Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party, came together at a press conference last Thursday morning at the downtown Broadway Building, and vowed to pressure Governor Brown to complete the remaining three-quarter of a mile freeway link so vitally necessary for the city's human and economic growth.

As spokesperson for the ad hoc concerned citizens' group, Elaine led off the press conference by emphasizing that the influential leaders had come togther "not so much from the perspective of a freeway, but from the perspective of people."



At recent Oakland press conference Black community leaders (left to right) PAUL COBB, ELAINE BROWN, LIONEL WILSON and ELIJAH TURNER demanded the completion of the Grove-Shafter Freeway in order that Oakland residents receive jobs and replacement housing.

Explaining that 10,000 permanent jobs, plus several hundred units of replacement housing hung in the balance, Elaine said: "We want to tell the governor of this state, who has made a commitment to the people that he was behind the freeway, behind the programs going along with the freeway, that he has allowed his own state director of transportation, Adriana Gianturco, to ice the freeway and not allow our people to obtain the benefits."

"The completion of this project is critical to the economic survival of the city of Oakland," the respected Judge Wilson remarked.

"There are two major factors which are more important, I think, than anything else. One is the further development of this city's economic base and the sustenance of its present economic base. The other is one of employment."

THOUSANDS OF YOUTH

Elaborating, Judge Wilson continued: "We have thousands of youth, mostly Black and other minorities, walking the streets who are unemployed. They have nothing to do. Somehow or another, everyone can afford a television, so they go home and look at the TV and see all the elements of this affluent society in which we live. They necessarily must have the desire to be a part of those material things that have become so important to Americans everywhere. Yet they have no means of attaining it.

"This project, if completed, offers the hopes for many of these young people for employment — a chance to obtain dignity and a chance to solve the frustrations and problems that they have just being on the streets with nothing to do."

Judge Wilson explained that he participated in an hour-long

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FALLEN COMRADES

STEVE BARTHOLOMEW
ROBERT LAWRENCE
TOMMY LEWIS

Assassinated: August 25, 1968

Comrades Steve Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence and Tommy Lewis were riding in a car in Los Angeles on August 25, 1968, when they noticed that a Los Angeles Police Department squad car was following them. After being trailed for some time, the three Black Panther Party members stopped in a gas station so that any incident could be witnessed by many. As Steve, 21, was getting out of the car, a volley of police gunfire killed him instantly. Robert, 22, got out of the car to inquire why Steve was shot and he was also cut down in cold blood. Young Tommy Lewis, 18, was severely wounded by police gunfire as he left the car to defend himself, after seeing Steve and Robert murdered. Bleeding profusely, Tommy was left unattended for over two hours at Los Angeles' Central Receiving Hospital before he died from stomach wounds and loss of blood. Long Live the Spirit of Steve Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence and Tommy Lewis! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ON THE MURDER OF FRED EDWARD BILLINGSLEA, SAN QUENTIN PRISON, FEBRUARY 26, 1970

"LET ME OUT, PLEASE, I CAN'T STAND IT NO MORE"

The murder of Fred Edward Billingslea in San Quentin Prison's B-section in 1970 is an incident intricately and intimately tied in to the series of events which evolved from the coming to revolutionary consciousness of George Lester Jackson, the late Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, and the rise of a strong prison reform movement. Fred Edward Billingslea, a young Black, and ultimately innocent, prison inmate was murdered by the California prison system — characteristics he holds in common with many of the people caught up in this network of prison set-ups and repression. The fact that his murderers have thus far escaped justice is also a common trait.

The following article is excerpted from a much longer letter written to attorney Salle Soliday, a Marin lawyer involved in a class action suit by B-Section inmates filed in the aftermath of Fred Billingslea's murder. Its author, a prison inmate named Kumasi, was in B-Section the day of the slaying, choking on the same tear gas which ended Fred Billingslea's life.

Let's not always allow the prison administration to sensationalize the fact that prisoners do kill prisoners for reasons too easily explained. Let's look at the killing of prisoners by the administration, the guards, and the prison itself. Let's look at just one.

I met Fred Billingslea in the Los Angeles Central County Jail around April of 1966. We met in a dayroom at a card table in a game of tonk. There was nothing different about Fred from any other prisoner in that jail except the individual personality, place and date of birth, etc. — things that give men their own identification.

Fred was also in the guidance center at Chino with me during May and June of 1966. He got along with everyone, had few arguments and I don't remember him having a fight. He played basketball and boxed a little, but what became new to him, as he explained during a later conversation we had shortly before his assassination in Quentin (Feb. 25, 1970), was his interest in book reading. He told me how he was surprised and impressed because he heard me arguing and negating the historical context of a book one day. He had always taken for granted that textbooks held the truth, all of it, without a typical slant in the point that would indoctrinate and orientate the student to its classical establishment position — in this case I had been arguing about the treatment American history books had been giving Blacks — this was before Black studies were introduced to the school curriculum.

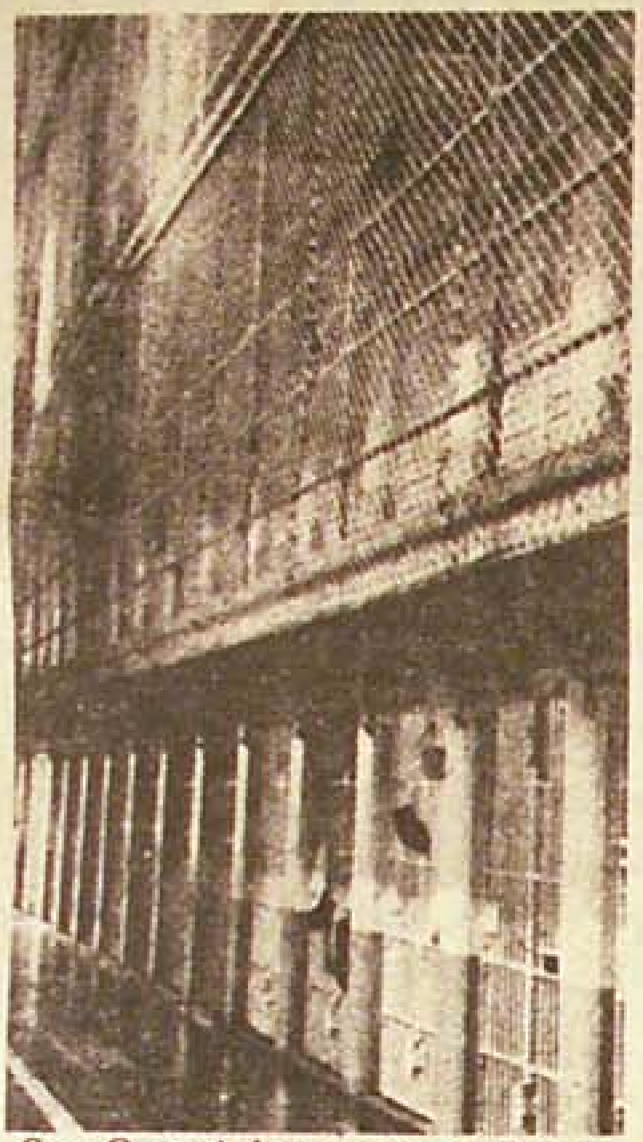
So Fred became a bonafide bookworm studying and examining every book and subject he could get his hands on — I never asked him what he was doing because to me it wasn't unusual and at the time, I didn't know his motive. It could have been the same as mine for all I was concerned.

COOL

He was cool, and had the rhythm and gesticulations and outward emotional movements common to Black people but slightly exaggerated, so everyone began to call him — Triple Hip — meaning not only was he hip, but triple hip.

In June of 1966 I went to Tracy and Fred went to Soledad about the same time. We didn't run into each other again until 1969 when he stepped into F-Wing fresh off the bus, returning from Vacaville (the State medical facility for prisoners). He wasn't the same, either in appearance or character. His peculiarity was more exaggerated than before, his movements were slow, very slow, and awkward, but he still maintained a taste of coolness. He was larger but his athletic build was gone, his back was hunched, his

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San Quentin's notorious B-section, which was finally closed down this year. Young Fred Billingslea was tear-gassed to death in B-section by prison guards.

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

August 22, 1791

On August 22, 1791, the Haitian Revolution, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, began with a rebellion of slaves in the northern province. The Haitian Revolution was the most successful of all slave insurrections, with the slaves not only winning power but defeating the world's major power at that time, France.

August 22, 1843

At a national convention of Black men in Buffalo, New York, on August 22, 1843, Henry Highland Garnet made a controversial speech in which he called for a slave revolt and a general strike.

August 23, 1917

A battle was fought on August 23, 1917, in Houston, Texas, involving Black soldiers of the 24th infantry regiment and White citizens. Two Black men and 17 Whites were killed, and martial law was declared. Thirteen members of the all-Black regiment were subsequently hanged.

August 28, 1955

Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Black youth, was kidnapped and lynched in Money, Mississippi, on August 28, 1955, for allegedly talking to a White woman. His murder enraged the Black community and lit the flame of Black protest against injustice across the country.

August 27, 1963

On August 27, 1963, W.E.B. Du Bois, scholar, protest leader and one of the founders of the NAACP, died in Accra, Ghana. Dr. Du Bois was also one of the founders of the Pan African Congresses as well as one of the greatest defenders of Black people's rights.

August 28, 1963

Over 250,000 persons from across the country participated in the famous "March on Washington" on August 28, 1963.

2nd Marquette Park March Halted

(Chicago, Ill.) - An attempt by Black demonstrators to stage a protest march in Chicago's racially troubled Marquette Park area last week was stopped by Chicago police.

The police, who themselves have been actively attacking Black marchers, arrested 29 people and caused a number of minor injuries as they enforced an order by Judge George N. Leighton, who refused to allow the march to proceed in Marquette Park.

The march was led by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement and spokesperson Rev. A.I. Dunlap stated that the organization has requested three more march permits for Septem-



Racist warning found in White Chicago neighborhood.

ber. He emphasized that marchers will continue to be nonviolent in their fight for open housing in southwest Chicago.

"If violence occurs," he said, "it will be from the other side."

Spokespersons from a coalition of 55 White southwest Chicago organizations who have been opposing the marches are scheduled to meet with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley in the near future in an attempt to block future marchers.

In a July 17 march, a mob of over 2,000 Whites, led by Nazi and Ku Klux Klan elements, attacked members of the Martin Luther King Movement. Over 63 persons were arrested and one of the marchers, James Holliday, was beaten by police after he was arrested.

Presently, 18 Chicago policemen are under investigation for participating in last week's attack on the marchers. Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL) President Renault Robinson blamed the police for much of the violence, stating, "They wanted to spite the judge's decision (permitting the July 17 march) by letting the marchers get their asses kicked."



BPINS photos

Featured speakers at last Sunday's OCLC Community Forum were: moderator ELAINE BROWN, BESSIE THOMAS, ANDREA BENAVIDEZ and MATTIE SHEPHERD.

SPEAKERS BLAST POLICE VIOLENCE

O.C.L.C. FORUM CALLS FOR COMMUNITY POLICE REVIEW BOARD

(Oakland, Calif.) - In an effort to stem the tide of recurring police murders and abuse in Oakland, a call for a "Community Police Review Board" was issued at last week's Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) Community Forum.

On hand to provide graphic examples of Oakland police violence were: Mrs. Bessie Thomas, co-president of the San Antonio Tenants' Union; Ms. Andrea Benavidez, whose brother, Jose Barlow Benavidez, was murdered by Oakland cop Michael Cogley on June 11; and Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, who has not given up her almost three-year-old struggle to achieve justice for her son, Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old Black youth who died at the hands of three White racist Emeryville policemen on November 1, 1973.

Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, moderator for the Sunday afternoon program, emphasized that, "The position of the Black Panther Party against police brutality in 1966 is the same, despite various publicity games, as it is in 1976. Nothing has changed," Elaine said. "Now we have George Hart (Oakland's current police chief) instead of Charles Gain. There has been only a change in faces and personalities," she added.

In introducing the first speaker, Mrs. Bessie Thomas, Elaine detailed the false pretense used by Oakland police to impose a literal state of siege against the San Antonio Villa housing project for its alleged dope problem.

"Nixon was and Gerald Ford is now the real dope pusher," Elaine stated. "I question the activity of police who attack children who are not responsibl[e] for any type of traffic in ou[r] neighborhood."

Speaking for the Tenants Union, Mrs. Thomas explained "We are not only incriminated b[y] the Oakland police but also by th[e] Oakland Housing Authorit[y] (OHA) security force. The OH[A] police are able to unlock our door[s] and let the Oakland police int[o] our homes without search war[rants]. They don't even try to g[o] about it in the legalized way."

"My own son," Mrs. Thoma[s] continued, "was stopped b[y] police five out of six days to fin[d] out his name." She then told o[f] how the police had actuall[y] blocked off San Antonio's onl[y] two entrances, allowing no one t[o] enter or leave. "As long a[s] we tolerate this type of treat[ment]," she insisted, "withou[t] standing up and letting our voice[s] be heard, the police are going t[o] keep on doing this."

POINT BLANK

The next speaker was Andrea Benavidez, whose brother, Jose Barlow Benavidez, was shot t[o] death with a shot gun at poin[t] blank range by Oakland polic[e] officer Michael Cogley. The Chi[cano] community has become incensed over this grisly murder. Two weeks ago, the Alameda County Grand Jury refused to indict Cogley.

Ms. Benavidez, speaking fo[r] the Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes, told how her family was insulted by Oakland police chief George Hart when he criticized them "for attempting to involve human emotions into the issue" of Jose Barlow's murder.

"If it was someone without a uniform, they would have been put away immediately," she said.

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O.C.S. Bake Sale Successful

(Oakland, Calif.) - East Oakland's model elementary level school, the Oakland Community School, sponsored two very successful bake sales last Saturday, August 21, as part of the School's ongoing efforts to raise funds for its quality educational programs.

Pictured above are Ms. VIVIAN GRIFFIN (left) and Mrs. EULA TAYLOR, active OCS parents who sold tasty baked goods at Lucky's Food Store, 1630 High Street. The OCS also sold pies, cakes, cookies and other delicious pastries at a program held at Laney College sponsored by the Bay Area Black Childcare Advocacy Coalition.

BPINS photo

STATE OFFICE PICKETED BY I.S.C. SUPPORTERS

CHICAGO UPTOWN RESIDENTS HALT CLOSING OF FREE LUNCH PROGRAM

(Chicago, Ill.) — Residents of the Uptown community here last week succeeded in bringing about the resumption of the federally-funded People's Free Lunch Program, operated by the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC), that the government had abruptly halted because of the program's alleged failure to meet federal guidelines.

Last Thursday, August 19, angry parents, children and other concerned Uptown residents picketed the offices of the Special Programs for America at 7435 North Western Avenue, the state office which administers funds for the popular free lunch program that serves 1,000 lunches a day to hungry children. ISC members and other community people met with Mrs. Abbott of the State Department of Education Food Services Division who gave in to the group's demands. The People's Free Lunch Program was reinstituted the following day.

A statement delivered by the ISC during the successful community protest said, in part:

"We are here because the children of our community are hungry and the state has cancelled our lunch program. Although the program was only to continue for another 13 days, if we allow them to cancel the program now, then we will not get it again next year. And even this year, during the remaining summer weeks, this is the only meal that some growing children receive each day in our community.

STATE OFFICIALS

"The state officials say that the federal officials say that our program does not meet the guidelines. They cite four points that we are going to discuss with them, but the bureaucracy has leaked the real reason to us. The funding for the program comes from the Department of Agriculture, which also provides funding for the food stamps that have recently become so much more expensive.

"On Monday of this week, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, fresh from the Republican Convention, spent the day in Chicago going over the lunch programs run here. Ours was one of the largest in the city. Butz objects to large, free lunch programs, not part of some small summer school program, as creating a 'welfare mentality.'

"So the state officials, perhaps under pressure from the federal officials, cancelled the program on paper last Friday, even though in reality it was cancelled on Tuesday. In this way, they avoided the wrath of Mr. Butz, but they have not avoided the wrath of the community, whose children are hungry.



Uptown children and their parents, led by the Chicago ISC, waged a successful protest heading off the cancellation of the People's Free Lunch Program.

"It may be that our rather large, solely volunteer, community lunch program is unorthodox, but then that is because there should be more like it. The locations for our programs are designated 'high crime areas.' The police consider these areas 'filled with scum' and patrol like we were a village in Vietnam. Urban renewal has pushed Blacks and Latinos into the primarily southern White area and created serious racial tensions in the overcrowded neighborhood which has resulted in gang wars. Speculators, arsonists and absentee landlords wage war daily. . . .

"The ISC is an all volunteer organization. The lunch program is run by the mothers and families of the children who use the program. None of the great liberal agencies in the area would even donate tables and chairs. Our community got no help from anybody, although we got lots of attention from brutal police, city planners, speculators and arsonists.

"Nevertheless, the neighborhood is pulling together. A strong tenant union is developing. The youth themselves have unified and stopped most of the gang fighting. We are working together for our common survival and the lunch program was an important factor in bringing people out on the street to work together — White, Latino and Black, young and old, gang members and welfare mothers. So naturally they stopped the program because it is creating a 'welfare mentality.'

"If you want to cut the welfare rolls down, then build factories where you are building half-occupied upper income highrises, and give us jobs. But don't take food out of our babies' mouths because some of your bureaucrats have never been hungry." □

EYES ON CITY HALL

JAIL CONSTRUCTION OPPOSED

Widespread opposition to the building of two pretrial detention centers, one in Oakland and one in Hayward, is developing among county officials and concerned citizens throughout Alameda County, reports the *East Bay Voice*. The two jails are to be constructed at a cost which could exceed $100 million over the next five years.

Vocal and persistent opposition has come from Alameda County Supervisor Tom Bates and Charles Santana, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Flatlands Fathers and Sisters and many private citizens. Bates urged the county to expand such programs as pretrial release and other alternatives, citing the fact that most people held in pretrial detention are accused of minor offenses. "We shouldn't spend a dime on jails," Bates said, "until we change the whole system."

REDUCED TAXI RATES FOR SENIORS

Beginning in September, East Oakland senior citizens will be offered taxicab transportation at greatly reduced rates. The city of Oakland has entered into a contract with the Yellow Cab Company under which senior citizens 60 years of age and older can obtain transportation at an 80 per cent discount. The service will be available only from Fruitvale Avenue east of the San Leandro city limits. The Center for Independent Living (CIL) operates a similar program for the rest of Oakland, Berkeley, Albany and Emeryville.

MINORITY CONTRACTORS BLAST SUPERVISORS

East Bay minority contractors have blasted the Alameda County Board of Supervisors' recent refusal to establish mandatory quotas for awarding construction work to Black or Third World-owned firms. Instead of establishing set quotas, the supervisors adopted a system of "goals" which have no real way of being enforced. According to these goals, county contracts to minority-owned firms would be increased to 25 per cent of the total construction dollar in three to five years, starting at 10 per cent the first year. However, minority contractors have attacked this plan, saying "it has no teeth."



Southern inmates labor.

Southern States Resist Prison Reform

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Southern prison officials are running into stiff legislative resistance in attempts to relieve severe prison overcrowding, according to a *New York Times* report.

Rather than implement suggested reforms, which are aimed at reducing the amount of inmates, state legislatures in the South are concentrating on building more prisons and imprisoning more people.

At a conference of Southern prison officials held earlier this year in Nashville, Tennessee, several recommendations to relieve overcrowding were adopted. Among them were:

•Increased use of parole and early release;

•Rehabilitation programs such as work release or study release, and

•Cooperative efforts with the courts to achieve shorter or suspended sentences under supervised programs.

However, efforts to implement or expand these programs have met strong resistance in every state in the South. This has caused progress in prison reform to be extremely slow and tentative.

The most dramatic changes have occurred in Georgia where, recently, sentences were cut across the board for many offenders. Despite this effort, the inmate population continues to rise steadily. In response, Georgia's state legislature has chosen to build more prisons instead of putting into effect creative "rehabilitation" programs.

In Florida, the problem of overcrowding is at its worst. Over 16,000 people are housed in facilities built for 12,000. Florida's court system creates about 100 inmates each week, reports the *Times*.□

90 PER CENT PARTICIPATION

ATTICA INMATES STRIKE FOR PRISON REFORM DEMANDS



A small portion of the arsenal used to quell the 1971 Attica uprising (left) and (right) the close confines of a cell in the upstate New York prison. This week Attica inmates initiated a general strike.

(Attica, N.Y.) — Despite a visit last week by a group of New York state legislators to Attica State Prison where they listened to inmate grievances, 90 per cent of the prison's inmates went on strike this week to demand that Governor Hugh Carey and state prison officials meet their just demands.

"Because all other measures have failed," the prisoners wrote Carey, "we, like many others, will go on strike to resolve our problems."

Last week, several members of the New York State Assembly and the newly appointed chairman of the State Commission on Corrections, Stephen Chinlund, spent nine hours at Attica interviewing inmates and guards. The visit was in response to an announcement by inmates that a general strike would be staged.

After the intensive talks, Chinlund admitted, "I don't consider the situation cooled off. It is still very serious and will remain so until we can relieve the serious overcrowding here, which exacerbates (irritates) every other problem."

Inmates gave no indication that they would call off or postpone their strike as a result of the talks. Chinlund and the assemblymen claimed that the inmates' grievances could not be met because of the required legislative consideration and, therefore, could not be done before January.

A document issued by inmates entitled *General Strike* states "Everyone will lock in. . .and will refuse to come out until the law clerk who drafted the document announces a disposition agreeable to the majority of the strikers."

The strike is a continuance of the inmates struggle for their human rights which caused a flare-up of hostilities at the prison on July 11. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 31, 1976.) Since that rebellion, in which over 250 inmates retaliated for the beating of inmate Albert McQueen, repression has intensified, with

Some of the inmate grievances and demands, of which state prison officials have been aware for quite some time, include:

•The ending of arbitrary classification and transfer of inmates to Attica, 70 per cent of whom are from New York City and many of whom have been unjustly branded as "troublemakers," (Blacks comprise the majority of the inmate population.)

beatings and arbitrary imposing of solitary confinement occurring almost daily.

REPRESSIVE RULES

In April of this year, prior to the beating of McQueen, guards at Attica and throughout the state purposefully escalated prison violence in an effort to use inmates as scapegoats to dramatize their own contract demands with the state.

•Removal of repressive visiting rules;

•A totally inadequate work release and furlough program (only two per cent of the over 2,000 Attica inmates are on work release);

•A complete overhaul of the prison's educational system;

•The establishment of a concrete Inmate/Community Program;

•Improvement in mess hall sanitary conditions;

•The end to overly repressive rules and regulations.□

"Protection" For Cleaver?

The following amusing commentary is excerpted from a much longer, and even funnier, article by San Francisco columnist Herb Caen.

". . .Mr. Cleaver was on view at a soul music soul food benefit in his behalf at Queen Adah Hall on Turk St. Despite the exotic name, Queen Adah Hall is about as glamorous as your average high school gymnasium, with fluorescent lights that made everyone look like the survivors of some terrible scourge, such as Philadelphia flu. The hall, which Queen Adah surely would have abhorred, is in a newish high-rise indubitably thrown up by 'redevelopment,' the euphemism for slum clearance. . .

"The one-time author of the remarkable *Soul On Ice*, Mr. Cleaver appeared to have his own soul on ice. He looked around the room without expression, as though brainwashed. 'I read your column every day,' he solemnly assured a columnist. When someone suggested San Francisco may have changed during his long absence, he said as if by rote, 'San Francisco is beautiful, just beautiful.' He shook hands formally with old friends. Only one man, who has been living in Tanzania for some years, embraced him.

". . .Kathleen Cleaver looked tense, drawn, exhausted . . .A group of soul singers from Cecil Williams' Glide Church sang dispiritedly (flourescent lights do not a joyous atmosphere make). The crowd was so sparse that I asked a streetwise old-timer, 'Is the Black community divided about Cleaver?' 'Not at all,' he replied. 'The Black community is against him.' Several S.F. plainclothes officers had been assigned by Chief Gain to the area, just in case. One was reported to have complained, 'Some assignment for a cop — providing protection for a cop-shooter.'. . ."

DETROIT POLICE BEHIND BLACK GANG VIOLENCE

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

who had been laid off due to a budget deficit would be immediately reinstated. Originally, the policemen were scheduled to come back to work on September 1.

William Beckham, executive assistant to Detroit's Black mayor, Coleman Young — who was vacationing in the Caribbean at the time — read to the press a get-tough order from Young to the police department, which said, "I want the pimps, prostitutes, gangs and youth rovers off the streets. We're going to rid the city of them — beginning tonight."

Beckham added, belligerently, "We're going to take the city back. . .It (Cobo Hall incident) was an outright, flagrant challenge to our security and to police authority in Detroit, and we failed to meet it. It won't happen again." Concerning the curfew, Beckham threatened, "Someone's going to get hurt, beginning tonight. Don't let it be your child."

Over 50 per cent of Detroit's Black teenagers are unemployed, a factor in the large numbers of youths who are aimlessly wandering the streets.

STRESS SQUAD

Meanwhile, some members of the Detroit Common Council were reported to be considering the re-establishment of the hated STRESS squad, Detroit's equivalent to the SWAT squad of the Los Angeles Police Department. During its existence, STRESS was responsible for murdering over 20 Black people.

In his interview with Freed and Cohen, the Black city worker, who has worked closely with youth gangs and the police for several years, explained that he now works on the "turf" of the Arrow Command gang, one of the city's largest gangs. He said concerning a recent police meeting, "Several cops met in Room 625 of police headquarters at 1300 Beaubien Street and made plans to feed guns, money and drugs to the Arrow Commands and rival gangs. One guy was a ranking member of gang intelligence, another was an officer of the DPOA.

"The gang leaders don't know it, but they are being manipulated by provocateurs within their own ranks," he emphasized.



Detroit's infamous and hated STRESS squad, who were responsible for murdering over 20 Black people during its brief reign of terror. The Detroit city government is considering re-establishing this unit.

When asked what is motivating the police to spark gang violence, the Black worker said that there are several possibilities, including the racist DPOA's desire to force the rehiring of laid-off police, to embarrass and destroy Mayor Young (he was elected after defeating police chief Tannian) and their efforts to strengthen their own organization. The DPOA, the worker said, is particularly fearful of the rise of a strong Black police officers' group in Detroit, such as the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL) in Chicago.

"These cops are the same ones who (tried to) destroy the Panthers. Maybe they want to turn the inner city into a police state," he said.

He also revealed that a list of names and addresses of Detroit police officers was given to the gangs by undercover agents of gang intelligence. "Do you think these punks could walk into a computer room and come away with a list of policemen?"

City officials and police blame the rising crime wave in the city — the headquarters of the nation's automobile industry — on Black gangs. Youth-oriented programs that might have cut into the skyrocketing unemployment rates of Black teens have been severely cut back by the city. As a result, street gangs, filled with youths with nothing but time on their hands, have flourished.□

O.C.L.C. Forum Calls For Community Police Review Board

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

"Cogley has only been on the force for 15 months. . .On the day he killed Barlow it probably was his first day on the streets," she said.

The Barlow Benavidez Committee has called for a March and Rally Against Police Crimes on Sunday, August 29, assembling at Sanborn Park (East 17th Street and Fruitvale Avenue) and marching to San Antonio Park (East 16th Street and Foothill Boulevard) for a 2:00 p.m. rally. In announcing the rally, Ms. Benavidez called on "the Black community to struggle with us (the Chicano community)."

The last speaker on the program, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, is well known to everyone as she has courageously struggled for nearly three years to gain justice for her slain son, Tyrone Guyton. The three Emeryville policemen who were responsible for his murder have yet to be indicted by any court.

Mrs. Shepherd pointed out that one of the policemen, Dale Phillips, has been caught and prosecuted for dope dealing, "but not because Tyrone had a right to live."

HIGHLY CHARGED SPEECH

In her highly charged speech, Mrs. Shephed urged everyone to "fight police repression and to speak out against the cold-blooded murder of all nationalities" and "to keep the case of Tyrone Guyton open.

"If we speak out," Mrs. Shepherd stated eloquently, "we can stop police murders not only in Oakland, but throughout the world."□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

End Indeterminate Sentence?

(Sacramento, Calif.) - A controversial bill that would abolish the 59-year-old indeterminate prison sentence was approved last week by the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, passed by the Senate and sent to the Assembly floor. The measure would establish fixed prison terms based on the average time now served by male inmates and would be retroactive — allowing an estimated 1,000 inmates who have served longer than average terms to be released.

$$$ For Pullman Porters

(New York, N.Y.) - U.S. District Court Judge Alfred A. Arraj, who ruled in a class action suit last February that the Pullman Company had discriminated against Black porters by not making them conductors, has awarded back pay of over four million dollars in damages. An estimated 1,500 Black former Pullman porters will receive a maximum of $2,800 plus interest that started the day the original decision was granted, February 9.

N.Y. Cop Killing

(New York, N.Y.) - The Bronx district attorney's office is investigating reports that the off-duty police officer who shot and killed a 28-year-old Puerto Rican man near Yankee Stadium last week was intoxicated and that he ignored pleas by the man not to shoot. These reports, according to *The New York Times*, were provided by 15 persons, including an off-duty detective, who said they were eyewitnesses to the shooting which occurred after a Jets-Giants football game.

Pears Dumped

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Pear growers expect to dump 20,000 to 30,000 tons of fruit this year for lack of a market, a spokesperson said recently. Instead of lower prices for canned pears for consumers, the increased wage rates for cannery workers and other escalating costs of processing and distribution will "force" growers to throw away their fruit.

SAN JOSE POLICE BRUTALLY ATTACK BLACK MAN

(San Jose, Calif.) - A San Jose Black man, Ewan Davis, is now facing charges of attacking a police officer after being nearly killed by police gunfire.

Davis, whose trial is scheduled to start on August 30, was shot by San Jose police officer Luis Ruilaba on May of this year in an incident that has received little or no publicity.

Davis, who has a history of emotional problems, was approached by Ruilaba and other officers and asked to leave his van — in which he had been living for some time — in a vacant parking lot. Davis refused to leave the van, and the officer, who didn't even run a computer check to see if Davis owned the van, persisted in asking that he leave the vehicle.



EWAN DAVIS, victim of San Jose police shooting.

After Davis continued to refuse to leave his van, Ruilaba smashed the front window of the vehicle and emptied a mace cannister into it. Another window was smashed and the van exploded, causing Davis to run out into the street.

Davis' brother, Joe Davis, witnessed the incident, as he had originally come to the area to visit his brother before he was harassed by police. He tried to explain to the officers that his brother owned the vehicle and that Ewan had no warrants for his arrest.

Joe Davis offered to restrain his brother after he ran out of the van with an alleged "weapon" but the officer immediately held him at bay with a shotgun. Subsequently, Ewan Davis was shot in the chest with Ruilaba's shotgun when he could have been easily calmed down by his brother.

Ewan Davis was then taken to a hospital and later to the Santa Clara County Jail infirmary.☐

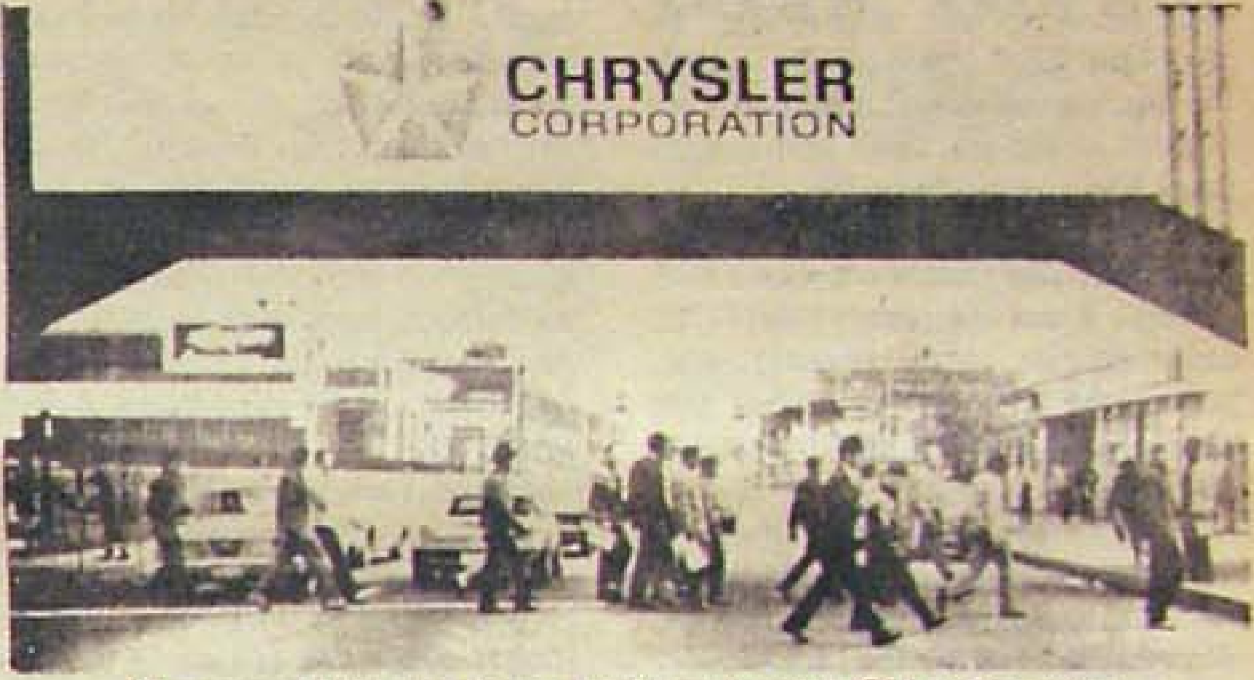
C.I.A. LINKS TO LABOR, SABOTAGE OF TRADE UNIONS REVEALED

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The existence of extensive ties between the CIA and AFL-CIO leadership has been confirmed by one of the founders of the CIO and a veteran of 40 years in the American labor movement, reports Rodney Larson of Research Associates International.

Victor Reuther, brother of United Auto Workers former President Walter Reuther, has just completed a book documenting the extensive history of CIA and labor, *Solidarity of Subversion.*

Reuther was in an unusually good position to judge the effect of the CIA's use of U.S. labor programs overseas. As director of the United Auto Workers (UAW) International Affairs Department for many years, he was able to observe the actions of representatives of other unions, the AFL, and the world-wide apparatus of the merged AFL and CIO that was run by former leftists and Communists under the direction of AFL-CIO international director Jay Lovestone.

According to Reuther, Loveston played an important role in attempts to split the infant UAW and cooperated with auto companies as early as the mid-1930s.



Organized labor is plagued with extensive CIA infiltration.

Lovestone was made director of international affairs of the AFL-CIO over the protests of the UAW and Walther and Victor Reuther in the 1950s.

In 1951, Victor Reuther was released from his UAW duties in the U.S. and was sent on a long tour through Europe to assess the state of European trade unionism. At that time he already had extensive experience in the international aspects of trade unionism and was able to utilize his experiences and contacts gained during a trip through Europe to the Soviet Union in the early 1930s. Both Victor and Walther Reuther worked in a Soviet auto plant (established by Henry Ford) for almost two years before their involvement in the UAW.

Victor Reuther says that after this 1951 trip, CIO president Phil Murray asked him to assume the directorship of the European office of the CIO that might, in part, help to counter the more conservative policies of the AFL office there, under the direction of Lovestone and Irving Brown.

Reuther says that he found out that Irving Brown and the AFL were receiving "incredibly large funds from some U.S. government source in an effort to get European trade unions in his pocket and to dictate the foreign policy of both European and African countries."

His investigations showed that the "hysterical fear of Communism that produced McCarthyism in America was being spread, by means of CIA money, first by the AFL and later by the merged AFL-CIO under Meany's autocratic rule."

CIA funding, according to Reuther, "was heaviest in Italy, France, North Africa and in Greece." In each case the policy of Brown, Lovestone and Meany was to split the national trade union movements. In Italy and France they are split to this day — making coordinated efforts against U.S. and European multinational corporations extremely difficult.

Although it is not mentioned in Reuther's book, Irving Brown was again appointed as AFL-CIO European representative in 1975 and is using his Paris office to influence elections and labor affairs in Italy, France and Portugal. The documentation of Brown's efforts on behalf of the CIA in recent years has been proved by ex-agent Philip Agee and many other writers.

Other legacies of the 1950s CIA and AFL programs in Europe were cited, including links to the

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Chicano Workers Fight Racist Abuse

(Santa Ana, Calif.) - The war being waged against Mexican workers in this country is meeting with widespread opposition in southern California.

In Orange County, police escalated harassment of the Latino community after the issuance of a May 15 directive by Santa Ana Police Chief Richard Davis giving an official go-ahead to the department's racist questioning and arrest of Mexicans.

Many members of the community, however, are unwilling to passively stand by while the order is implemented, and on July 31, 400 people demonstrated in Santa Ana to protest the document.

The police department, supported by the Santa Ana School Board, has joined the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (La Migra) in the campaign against Mexican workers.

The memo has aroused a storm of protest because it lays out conditions that are clearly racist for "probable cause" for arresting "illegal aliens."

For instance, the Santa Ana Police Department considers being poor "reasonable cause"



Chicano people are waging a serious struggle for their human rights.

for interrogating Latinos. The memo states that living in substandard housing or working for meager wages is sufficient reason to believe a Latino is in the U.S. illegally.

A police training bulletin which accompanied the memo states: "Inability to carry on a simple conversation in English, unusual manner of dress, failures to maintain eye contact with police and mannerisms which are not

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"Let Me Out, Please, I Can't Stand It No More"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

face was bloated and his eyes seemed to look without seeing. His speech was stumbling, he fumbled and grasped for words — but he could still smile and we talked about the time and events that had passed between us.

Fred told me he had been to Vacaville and that the doctors had given him various kinds of medicines and treatments, among them was Thorazine and Prolixin — and the most dreaded treatment of all (to all of us) — the electro-convulsive shock treatment. I asked him why did he allow them to give these drugs and treatments to him and Fred said that if the doctors decide to give them to you, you can't refuse and if you do refuse, there are inmates there they call greenshirts who are employed as restraining agents. Five, six or as many greenshirts as it takes will run into your cell and beat you into submission or into unconsciousness and the doctor will come in and then shoot you with a needle. It only takes a few seconds before every muscle in your body relaxes and all you can move is your eyes. Then they take you somewhere, strap you to a table, put a bit in your mouth and electrodes on your head and shock you into convulsions. . . .

Fred also told me that he allowed them to experiment on him with new drugs that he didn't even know the names of or even their purpose. I personally pulled a patch resembling a large band-aid from Fred's shoulder that had some kind of medicine or chemical or something on it that they put on and then test and examine your biological, metabolical, and psychological reaction to it.

MISSING

One day Fred is missing from Soledad's mainline and the rumor among our circle is that Fred was taken during the night to Vacaville.

The next time I see Fred is in B-section, San Quentin's dungeon lock-up — a cesspool of madness where war veterans, ex-policemen, drunks and the emotionally unstable man the gunrails day and night, pointing their rifles and carbines at prisoners, shooting them, then shooting at and around them, while they sleep, while they shower, while they fight, while they play, always maintaining a coldly calculated atmosphere o horror and death.

They use any excuse to beat a prisoner. But first they must manipulate him into the position of committing himself verbally

An officer — we call them pigs in accord with their conduct — will enter a cell and read a prisoner's mail, ramble through his personal effects, family pictures, personal writings, books, etc. A few words are exchanged, enough to be viewed as an argument, a violation of rules. The pig returns with the "goon squad." Ten, fifteen, uniformed pigs, armed with tear gas, clubs, towels, and cuffs, they line up in front of a man's cell. There will be a few moments of intimidation and harassment evoking more responses from an already enraged prisoner. Then comes the tear gas, sprayed or shot into the cell with either a .38 caliber or a twelve-guage "gas-gun."

One night, Feb. 25, 1970, Fred began to scream vindictives from his cell, but everybody screams in B-section. The only difference is that most of us who do the screaming and competing against the hundred voices learn to distinguish the difference between one another. Fred could not. The drugs I told him to refuse to take had finally dissolved Fred's mind. In B-section he seemed completely incoherent, but there were still moments when his conversation made sense; if he talked extensively his words would trail off and he would be speaking completely out of context. Everyone knew what Fred had been through. San Quentin is full of men whose minds have been destroyed rather than their bodies — the prison knows the sophisticated way to kill. . . .

During this spell of incoherence that overcame Fred that night, more than twenty (20) pigs came to his cell with tear gas, mace and clubs. They intimidated him, practicing choke holds that they would use on him to get him out of his cell. One of them had a tube resembling a small fire extinguisher and their first move was to empty this in Fred's cell. Fred went to the back of his cell and began a small fire that, as it appears, he kept going in front of him. The fire seemed to have counteracted the gas for a while. It didn't even seem to affect the rest of us too much."

"LEAVE HIM ALONE, PIGS"

So they left and returned with another tube of gas which was sprayed into Fred's cell. Everyone was yelling at the pigs by now, "Leave him alone pigs!" and "If they come in, fight 'em, Fred!" "Pigs, if you jump on him, you got to jump on everyone of us in B-section." Whites, Blacks, Chicanos, everyone was on Fred's side. Fred said nothing. It was not clear just what he was doing in the corner of his cell, whether or not he was even conscious. Different people called to him, asked him to give some sign of being alright in there.

Another tube of gas arrived and was emptied into Fred's cell. About ten minutes later Fred began to speak. He spoke rapidly, in a whimper. "Let me out, let me out, let me out, please let me out, please I can't stand it no more."

But another tube was emptied into Fred's cell and by now all of B-section was filled with gas and even the prisoners around the corner in A-section were beginning to feel the effects of it. . .

By this time the pigs had called the hospital. We don't know what transpired on the phone, but two greenshirts wearing inmate attendants' uniforms, one Black, one White (I won't give their names because they are still pending payment of the highest debt, under the code of retribution) came to Fred's cell and were admitted into the cell to subdue Fred so as to exempt the pigs from the blame.

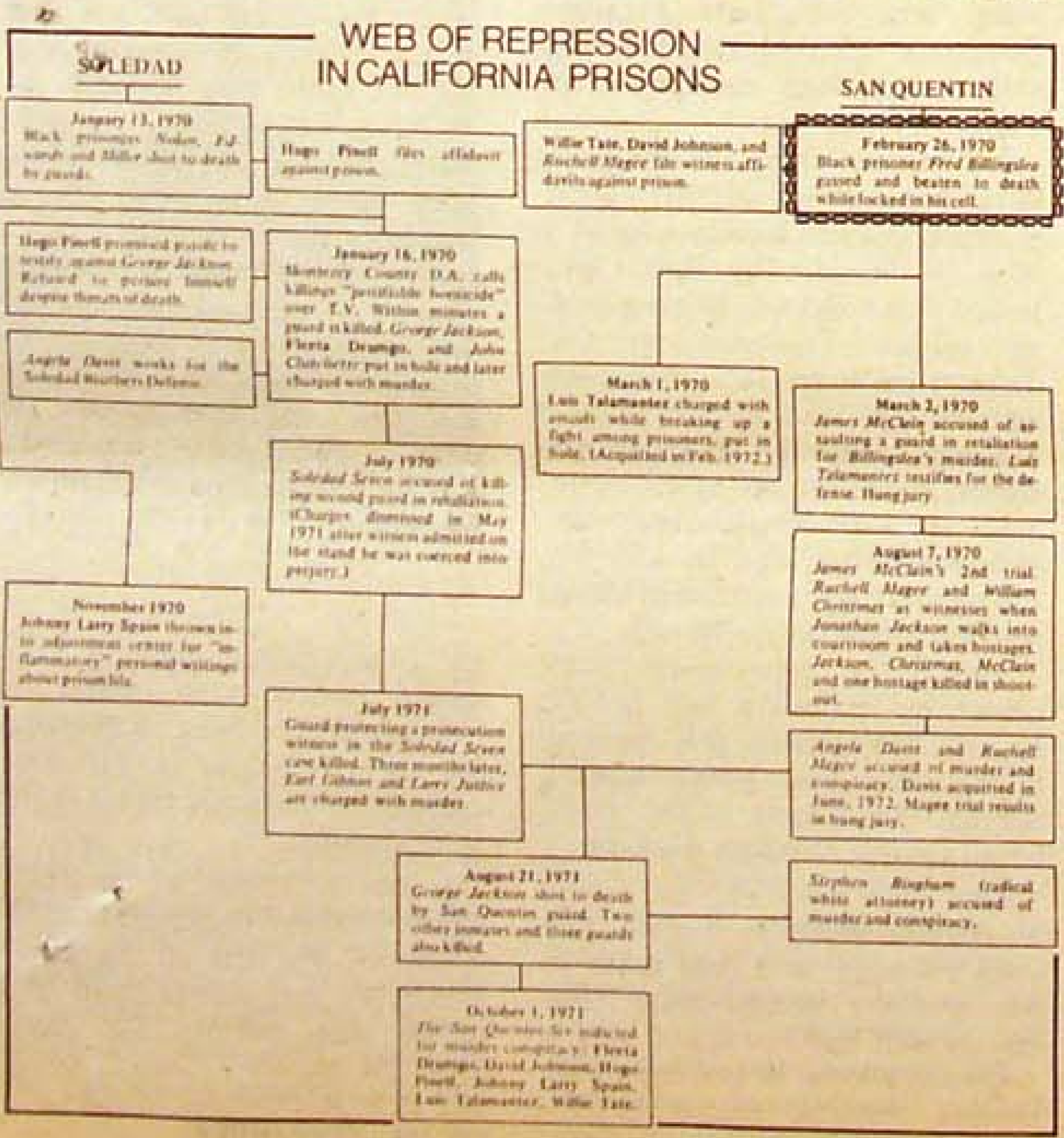
Everyone yelled and threatened those attendants, they were called by name and told that if they jumped on Fred for the pigs they could hang it up. They jumped on Fred anyway, and dragged Fred out by the balls! Fred was taken downstairs by the pigs once these attendants got him out of the cell. There was the sound of tumbling going on all the way down and it was obvious that the pigs were doing their thing — beating, pushing and throwing Fred down the stairs.

About twenty minutes later, word came up from the prisoners on the first floor that Fred had been carried out on a stretcher with a blanket over him. Word spread from cell to cell, tier to tier, from the first tier to the fifth. Then there was silence in B-section for the first time in many nights and it lasted all night.

DEATH

Warden Louis Nelson announced Fred's death on the radio both public and institution-wide. His story was that Fred was disturbing other inmates at B-section by making noise and by setting fire to his cell (a concrete cell), and that "correctional officers" were called to his cell to remove him, and because he refused to come out on his own accord force was necessary.

The tear gas was used first in order to subdue Fred, who, Warden Nelson explained, was a psychotic and then the warden apologized, saying how deplorable it was that San Quentin did not have the facilities to accommodate psychotics, that there was a need for hosital space in order to make this possible. He said that Fred put up a struggle so intense that at one point an officer was kicked all the way down the stairwell and that Fred's death was not the result of a beating as the rumor around the San Quentin had it — but that he died of asphyxiation due to the fire he had set in his cell and that it was "complicated by tear gas."□



BEHIND THE SMILE

A Disquieting Inside Look At The Jimmy Carter Non-Campaign

The following is Part 3 of an inside look at the behind-the-scenes activity in the Jimmy Carter campaign written by Robert Shrum, a former Carter speechwriter who quit his job after only nine days.

PART 3

We were walking back to the office. "The three men Carter trusts most on foreign policy and defense are Brzezinski, Nitze and Rickover." It was humid in Atlanta, but the weather wasn't the only source of discomfort. Carter was "unsure about opposing the B-1 bomber." He was in public opposition, but he thought "the B-1 might be needed to deliver the cruise missile."

Jody Powell turned out to be a foreign policy adviser, too. That afternoon, after I finished a Pennsylvania issues memo based on Caddell's polling data, Jody recounted that he was "the one who figured out" a Korean position for Carter. The kicker was that it provided for "indefinite air cover" for South Korea's ground forces.

It was typical of Powell. He's a consummate redefiner of meaning, a quicksilver clarifier when Carter stumbles over his candor. Jody has been with Carter almost since the beginning. He's among the few who would be there even to a bitter ending.

After work, I talked with a staff "heavy" who was with Carter long before the Iowa caucuses or New Hampshire. He looked and sounded beaten down, far older than when I'd last seen him months before. "Jimmy doesn't want to take positions. I'm surprised he went as far as he did on national health insurance."

Did he like Carter? Jimmy was "a loner," "he doesn't like to hear things he disagrees with"; "he's a lot like Nixon."

I couldn't believe he said it. The feelings, the frustrations, must run deep. Others around Carter didn't compare him that explicitly with Nixon; maybe they didn't know what they were saying, but they all said it, indirectly, descriptively, in one way or another. A typical comment: "Jimmy doesn't like to talk; he'd rather go off alone and read a memo. He feels uncomfortable in meetings."

Over coffee in the office, a close Carter aide characterized him as a "basically authoritarian man" who would "run a very centralized presidency." Why were they so fixated on his personality? I wondered. I wasn't asking about it; I was increasingly reluctant to hear about it.



Democratic presidential candidate JIMMY CARTER is trying hard to reach first base with Black voters by playing "games."

I moved the conversation to issues. What about tax reform? Nothing was being done to prepare any proposals. Why? Carter's orders: he didn't want specifics; they could only cause trouble. What would he do about tax reform as President? "I'm not sure." What was the basis of the tax reform promise repeated over and over in Carter's stump speeches in rhyming rhythm: "The tax system is a dis*grace* to the human race"? Answer: "There isn't any substantively, but it's a good issue."

I fled back to foreign policy. It was an insecure refuge. Carter distrusted some of the task force members—in particular, Tony Lake; Dick Holbrooke, the editor of *Foreign Policy;* and Paul Warnke, who led the internal opposition in the Pentagon to the Vietnam war. They were "too liberal."

Over lunch, Morris Dees, the Carter finance director, concluded that "ethnic purity helped more than it hurt." Morris, who was with McGovern in 1972, said he was "happy to be with a winner."

I spent the afternoon rewriting Carter's statement on mine health and safety for his visit the next morning to a coal mine in Finleyville, Pennsylvania. The issues staff had consulted over a period of a week or ten days with outside experts, primarily officials of the United Mine Workers. Carter already had pages of background material. But after the draft was done, everyone in the issues office warned: "Jimmy will never do it"; "it's too *specific*"; *it will offend the* mineowners."

SHELL SHOCKED VETERANS

They acted like shell shocked veterans of a losing battle fought too many times. Was it them or Carter? I read the draft to Jody Powell; he was at home with the flu. "It's kind of strong, but I like it. It's the kind of thing we've got to get Jimmy to start saying."

That night in the bar of the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, one of the staffers who travels with Carter was "filling" me in. "We were happy to get away with the health care speech. The press reported it as specific, but it doesn't really commit us to Kennedy-Corman or anything like it." Rewriting that speech ten days earlier, I hadn't realized I was improving the phrasing of loopholes.

I rode with Carter in his car to a 7:00 a.m. shift change at a steel plant. He asked some questions about the mine health and safety statement.

Carter struck out a provision to extend automatic black lung benefits to all miners who put in 30 years before the date when 90 per cent of the coal mines finally meet federal standards. He approved the rest of the statement. We stopped in front of a coffee shop outside the plant gate. He smiled instantly, ear to ear, as he stepped out of the car.

TO BE CONTINUED

Congressman Charges Cover-Up Of Mercenary Recruitment

(Washington, D.C.) - A U.S. congressman has charged the CIA, the Justice Department and other government agencies with obstructing Congress's investigation of mercenary recruitment in the U.S.

The charge was made by Congressman Donald Bonker, a member of a House International Relations Subcommittee currently holding hearings on mercenary recruitment in America. In a recent exclusive interview with *Internews* news agency, the Washington state Democrat said that he is disappointed and frustrated by the Justice Department's failure to provide Congress with specific information.

Recently, the State Department's top African affairs officer, William Schaufele, told the Congressional subcommittee that the State Department had referred 25-30 cases of alleged U.S. mercenary recruitment to the Justice Department for investigation. The Justice Department, however, refused to comment on those cases, and Congressman Bonker told *Internews* this is what the department has been saying since last March.

"The Justice Department spokesman was clearly evasive on all these matters. The only thing he would say is that he couldn't disclose any names or any progress that's being made in the investigation because he didn't want to impair their case. But we feel that they've been on this matter now for over a year. They've had plenty of time —

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...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt



A main thoroughfare in Bulag, a working class section of Cairo, inhabited by workers employed in small factories.

In this week's excerpt of BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois' exciting novel . . .And Bid Him Sing, a group of Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, hold their first meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), a Black liberation organization founded by Malcolm X that he patterned after the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

PART 44

It was almost three weeks after Malcolm left before we were able to hold the first meeting of our Cairo unit of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. I found the address without difficulty — in the Sayeda Zeinab district of Cairo where Mohammed, Kamal and Ibrahim shared an apartment. It was the first time I'd been there. I had not been invited before.

It was an old stone building, ornately decorated and solid on the outside, spacious and deteriorating badly inside. Such buildings were found all over Cairo They all had tall stories, antiquated, hazardous elevators and apartments that had originally been large but now were split up into rented rooms.

ORIGINAL SHAPE

Often such buildings had two or three furnished apartments still in their original shape. These were let throughout the long summers to vacationing Arabs from Saudi Arabia or Kuwait and the oil-rich Gulf emirates. More recently Libyans were renting them. These visitors to Cairo brought much money with them and paid handsomely for such apartments. Because of this the apartment or building owners pretended not to notice the high frequency of questionable female visitors.

This was Cairo's chief drawing card for these visitors, not its antiquities. And since they could pay their way, the owners welcomed them; and the authorities, normally death on such indiscreet behavior, looked the other way.

The brothers occupied just an apartment. It was one flight up, dispensing with the need to use the elevator. Suliman answered my ring.

"Come in, brother," he said, in a hurried and almost business-like manner. "Everyone is here." He closed the door. "We're preparing for prayers. Won't take long. Be with you in a minute."

He led the way through a large, tiled entrance that opened onto a larger sitting room. I noticed that he was using his cane heavily. "Make yourself at home." He waved his arm. "Some *Muhammed Speaks* are on the sofa."

He pointed in the direction of a large, very much used, overstuffed sofa, littered with papers, magazines and a filled ashtray in its center. As he turned to go he repeated: "This won't take long." He stepped into the entrance hall and disappeared down a long narrow passageway off the hall with doors on either side and at its end.

I walked over to the sofa, pushed papers out of one corner and sat down. Just I was settling myself I was startled by a loud, harsh, human sound suddenly bursting forth from within the apartment. It took me a moment to recognize it as the Call to Prayer. It was Kamal's version. Of all the many Summonses to the Faithful I'd heard in my seven years in Cairo, none was so ugly, so obviously pretentious, so insincere, and so aggressively all these things, as this one.

The sound could certainly be heard all over the building. I paled at what its occupants must have thought. They would be too discreet to say anything, either to the brothers, or to one another. But each, in his heart, would have heard exactly what I heard . . and some would have wept a little. As I listened I wondered what the other brothers heard.

When this sound mercifully ended there came in its place the in-unison recitations of the verses of the Koran that accompany the five positions of prayer. Again, Kamal's voice rang out over the mumbled voices of the others. I wondered, somewhat cynically, if he would deliver a sermon.

During all this I took stock of the apartment, or, at least, that part of it I could see from where I sat. Facing the sofa were two large dilapidated, overstuffed chairs. Between them a table held an empty beer bottle and glass. A filled ashtray sat beside the bottle. Tall, floor-to-ceiling windows were covered with flimsy, grey curtains. A faded, almost colorless rug covered the floor. The outside shutters stood open, allowing in enough of the late afternoon light to reveal the room's dust, litter and disorderliness.

In one corner of the entrance hall a fair-sized table, apparently used to eat on, was covered with glasses, coffee cups, empty beer bottles, papers and books. A woman's scarf, a bright pink, lay in one corner of the table. Three chairs sat around it. Brightly colored ornaments and nondescript pictures hung here and there on the walls. A handsome, old, walnut wood chandelier, with exposed, dusty light bulbs that should have been covered by small, individual parchments shades, hung from the center of the ceiling of the room.

FIRST ONE OUT

The first one out of the back of the apartment was Suliman. He was immediately followed by Ibrahim and Hassan, the medical student from Guyana. I rose as they approached. We shook hands and they sat down, Ibrahim on the sofa and Hassan in the chair opposite.

"I'll fix tea," Suliman said. "Or would you rather have coffee, brother?" The question was directed to me.

"Tea's fine, thanks."

As he disappeared Kamal came into the room. He was wearing a white skullcap on the back of his head. He came immediately to me, took my extended hand and said: "*Salam wa alaikum.*" I answered, "*Ahlan.*"

He turned and went into the entrance hall, picked up one of the striaght-back chairs at the table and brought it into the room in which we were seated. He placed the chair between my end of the sofa and the empty overstuffed chair opposite.

"Isn't Hank coming?" I asked, not directing the question to anyone in particular.

"I couldn't get in touch with him," Kamal answered. "But I don't think he'll be very much interested. He's hung up with those American University people. He's a jive nigger."

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Aftermath"

In this week's excerpt from "Aftermath" in Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton continues to describe the cruel medical treatment he received after being shot by Oakland policemen on October 28, 1967.*

PART 64

I was so heavily drugged for the first few days it is difficult to remember everything that went on. When I first regained consciousness, I seem to remember thinking about my situation and wondering if it was hopeless. My fear was not of death itself, but a death without meaning. I wanted my death to be something the people could relate to, a basis for further mobilization of the community.

I remember a radio playing in the room and the announcer saying something about a song dedicated to the Minister of Defense. However, I was not sure I really heard it. Perhaps it was my imagination. At that point a nurse came into the room, and seeing I was awake, asked if I had heard the song dedicated to me.

Then I knew that my situation was not hopeless and that the people were relating to the incident, whatever it was. This gave me much comfort at the time, even though I was in the hands of my oppressors. I knew that the Establishment would do everthing in its power to destroy me, but this small sign of community response helped me to begin to deal with the police in my room.

FEET SHACKLED

During the time this was happening I kept waking up and drifting back to sleep. I soon discovered that my feet were shackled, the chains connecting one ankle to the other, with both fastened to the bed. It was a strange feeling to wake up and find your feet in chains. At first I wondered if I was having a nightmare, but then I remembered the officer drawing his service revolver and the scene at Kaiser Hospital, and I decided it was no dream. I really was shackled, and police were there guarding me; they meant to kill me, as they had long wanted to and as the officer who shot me had attempted to do. Under the circumstances, my survival was a miracle.

Shortly after the incident, I received a letter from a physician, Dr. Aguilar, which was printed in THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper. It read:

"I can remember nothing in my medical training which suggested that, in the care of an acute abdominal injury, severe pain and hemorrhage are best treated by manacling the patient to the examining table in such a way that the back is arched and belly tensed. Yet this is precisely the picture of current emergency-room procedure which appeared on the front page of a local newspaper last weekend. Looming large in the foreground of the same picture, so large as to suggest a caricature, was a police officer. Could it have been he who distracted the doctor in charge of

HUEY P. NEWTON in an Oakland hospital after he survived an attempt on his life by racist Oakland police.



the case to position the patient in this curious way?

"Unusual as it was, this picture probably did not disrupt very much the pleasant weekend enjoyed by my neighbors nor disturb more than momentarily the consciences of my medical colleagues. To me, upon whose mind's eye it is permanently engraved, this photograph is portentous document of modern history: it represents an end and a beginning. Further, for me, there has been enough of listening, of reading, of pondering. The time has now come to speak, to act, to fight back.

"I have read essays written by the patient, Huey P. Newton; I have heard him patiently and painstakingly articulating his ideas and his hopes to a parade of questioners: hour after hour he continues to address the convinced and the unconvinced alike without malice. I have listened to him paraphrasing the concepts set forth in Dr. Fanon's books in a dozen brilliantly succinct sentences. I have listened to him and marvelled that a young man of twenty-five years can interpret in such scholarly fashion the historic socio-economic and political implication of the trend of modern society, while I, on the other hand, after forty-five years — seventeen of them spent in study at college and in postdoctoral education — discover I learned little of human value and must begin again.

"The beginning again for me dates from the last time I saw the patient, several weeks ago, in a discussion with a group of people, many of whom came by, listened awhile, and left. One such young man called later in the evening to say that he was in jail. He had been detained by the police for what they suspected might be a minor infraction of the Motor Vehicle Code, mistakenly, as it turned out, for they quickly determined that no law had been broken. Not content, the police undertook lengthy investigation which ultimately revealed that the young man had not satisfactorily replied to a charge of driving with an invalid license one year ago. For this reason he was now jailed with bail set at $550. It took three hours to fill out the requisition form, pay the requisite fees, and see the requisite people in order to extricate this Black boy from his cell.

"Two days later I was driving with a friend on the highway when she was apprehended because of four concurrent infractions of the Motor Vehicle Code, including driving without a valid permit for the trailer we were pulling. Nothing happened in spite of the fact that we were detained momentarily some miles farther on for still another infraction — this time a moving violation; we still arrived home in time for dinner, two White ladies in their comfortable White neighborhood. My friend told me later her total bail for all of this lawlessness came to $15! So please do not waste my time, my White brothers and sisters, in telling me that justice is dispensed equally under the law to all Americans. I will not believe you.

"I apologize, Mr. Newton, for any aggravation of suffering inflicted upon you during the course of treatment of your injuries. I apologize for the subhuman conditions and horrors of the ghetto in which an immoral political and social system. . . makes it inevitable that men like you are gunned down in the streets of our town."

Mary Jane Aguilar, M.D

TO BE CONTINUED

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES GARRY ON S.Q. 6 VERDICT

"THE WHOLE TRIAL HAD TH[E] ATMOSPHERE OF RACISM"

For the past 16 months, noted San Francisco attorney Charles R. Garry led the defense team effort at the celebrated San Quentin 6 trial at the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael. In his capacity as chief counsel for the Black Panther Party, attorney Garry presented a complete and thoroughly comprehensive defense for Party member and San Quentin 6 defendant Johnny Larry Spain — only to have a jury of 11 Whites and one Black undermine his tireless efforts and sacrifice his client and close friend in a deplorable compromise decision. (See last week's issue.) Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an exclusive interview with Charles Garry, the "people's attorney" as he is called, on the outcome of the San Quentin 6 trial.

PART 1

QUESTION: What was your opinion of the jury's verdict in the San Quentin 6 case?

GARRY: You've got to divide the jury's verdict into two parts. For the brothers who were acquitted, it's a good verdict. For the brothers who were convicted, it was a bad verdict, specifically for two people; Johnny Larry Spain and David Johnson should not have been convicted.

By that, I don't mean that Hugo Pinell should have been convicted. But I can state more clearly about Johnson and Spain. Why they ever even tried Pinell, what they expected to get by trying Pinell, I don't know. They wanted to use Pinell's background to implicate all of them.

Why this jury went ahead and convicted Johnny is something I don't understand. They acquitted him of every wrongdoing. Two things that correctional guards Rubiaco testified against were as follows:

Number one, that for a minute or two George Jackson gave his .9mm piece to Johnny and asked Johnny to hold it on Rubiaco. The next charge that Rubiaco testified against Johnny Spain was that he had handcuffed Rubiaco.

These charges were in count number 9, and the jury found Johnny Larry Spain innocent of count number 9. So it means that for the two things that he was actually charged with doing, the jury found him innocent of.

Then they convicted him of conspiracy, count number 6. You've got to remember that count number 6 was the one that said that Stephen Bingham and George Jackson conspired to smuggle a gun into San Quentin and that these six defendants joined that conspiracy — not some other conspiracy but that one.

Since they were required to pick what conspiracy Johnny was allegedly involved in, they did not say that the purpose of the conspiracy that Johnny joined was to bring in a gun. They acquitted him of that. They found him guilty of joining a conspiracy with the object to escape through force and violence. That's what they found him guilty of.

There was no evidence other than the fact that they said Bingham brought in this gun and that George Jackson brought the gun in the wig on his head. The jury apparently didn't buy that. But if they didn't but that, then what conspiracy are they talking about? How did that gun get in there if it didn't come in the way the prosecution maintained? That section of the conviction is completely and totallly unsupported by any evidence.

Q: Do you think the verdict was a compromise verdict?

GARRY: Yes, I believe it was a compromise verdict. It sounds like the same kind of compromise that took place when Huey Newton was convicted. Instead of attempted murder of Officer Heanes, they came in with the crazy verdict of not guilty for the assault to attempt murder and they convicted him of manslaughter. See what I mean? That was a compromise that took place.

You know, they deliberated for 24 days. I don't know what went on those 24 days, but that is the longest deliberation of a jury in the history of America, so that I'm sure that they compromised.

Now let's talk about the two counts of murder that Johnny was convicted of. That was Sgt. Graham and correctional officer DeLeon. There was no evidence that Johnny was ever even anywhere near these people, so that on these two particular counts that he was convicted of, there is no evidence, not one scrap of evidence, to support it, either as a perpetuator or as a person aiding and abetting.

NO EVIDENCE

There's no evidence to support the fact that Johnny was in any way even indirectly responsible for the deaths. Now what the judge did was to confuse the jury on aiding and abetting and also the conspiracy. But it seems to me that Johnny, David Johnson and Hugo Pinell were traded by the jury, to satisfy the dissidents on the jury to let Fleeta (Drumgo), (Luis) Talamentez and (Willie) Tate off. I don't mind that. I am very happy that those three got off, very happy about it, but I'm totally and completely disgusted that Johnny Larry Spain and the other two were convicted.

Q: On what grounds will you appeal this case?

GARRY: Well, there are so many that I don't know if I'm prepared to lay them all on the line. The main one is the fact that these men were shackled and chained like wild animals, and no matter how the jury would say that they could overlook that, there's no way in the world you can overlook that.

Now, this shackling and chaining had its effect on Johnny. Johnny, as you know, was hospitalized for six weeks in January a year ago. And couldn't stand the chaining and shackling. His back bothered him, it was upsetting. If you recall, the day the jury was picked, Johnny, in frustration, threw his files at the jury. I'm sure that the jury didn't like that. I'm sure that the many other times Johnny exploded at the degradation and the harassment he was going through, didn't ingratiate him with that jury. I'm sure of that.

So, when the judge says that this jury did not take into consideration the shackling and chaining, that's bullshit. That's just plain, unadulterated bullshit. I don't care how the jury would react to seeing a person shackled and chained, Johnny Larry Spain couldn't stand the shackling and chaining from an emotional standpoint and a physical standpint. Those two combinations were such that Johnny did not get a fair trial. Otherwise why would they pick Johnny as the sacrificial lamb?

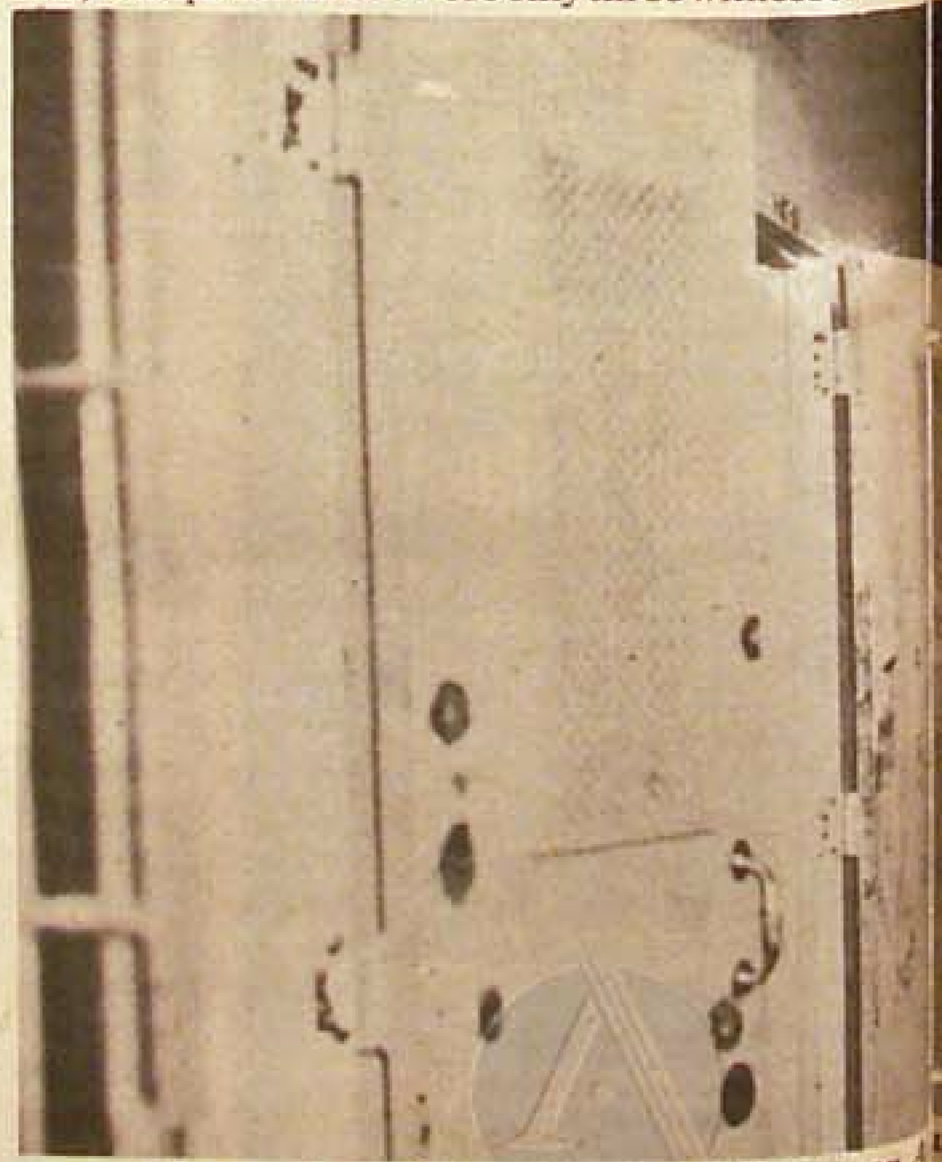
Q: Why did they sacrifice Johnny Spain?

GARRY: Well, one or two of the jurors used the argument that Johnny had the bullets in the soap that were found in his cell, and that he had this escape map, and that he ran out with George Jackson. But the psychiatrist testified and Zimbardo testified that the thought of fantasy of escape was the only thing that any inmate had to hang on to. Otherwise, they would go stark raving mad.

It's obvious that this jury spent a lot of time and finally made some deals among themselves.

Q: Wasn't it unusual that Judge Broderick never once called the jury in to ask now the deliberations were going?

GARRY: Well, he took the position that this trial went on for 16 months, the longest trial in American criminal history; the closing arguments lasted for over five weeks. It was not unreasonable for the jury to take time to do this, except that there were only three witnesses



Above, photo of the Adjustment Center on A[...] which resulted in the conviction of Black Pan[...] Charles Garry said: ". . .who created the c[...] three got convicted and had to pay for the m[...] soc[...]

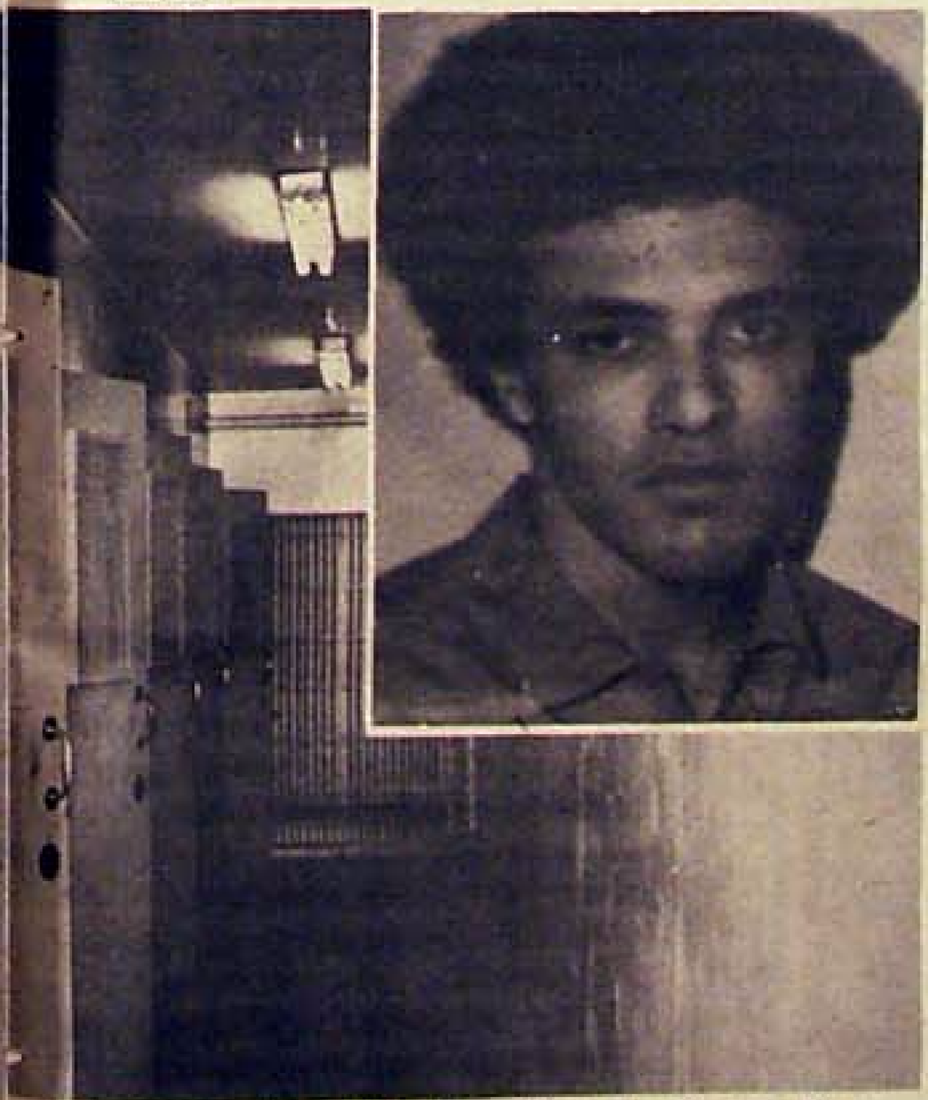
they really had to consider. One was Rubiaco, who, if you remember in my closing argument I said, "Liar, liar, pants on fire, you have a nose as long as telephone wire." Apparently they did not believe one single thing that he testified to. Otherwise Johnny would have been convicted of count nine. The only thing that Johnny was charged with doing was what was in Count nine. All of the other in this business of conspiracy and aiding and abetting, which are just imaginative charges. You don't have to have affirmative defense to convict somebody of aiding and abetting or of conspiracy.

Now, the other person that the jury had to analyze was Breckenridge. Breckenridge was the only believable witness that they (the prosecution) had, except that because of his physical infirmities — he was choked and lost all kinds of blood — he was not totally believable; he imagined a lot of things. It was on the basis of that defense that Willie Tate got off. Now, David Johnson and Willie were together all the time, and if one was innocent, then the other was innocent. If one was guilty, the other should have been guilty. Why didn't David Johnson get off? See what I'm getting at?

Then the other person was McCray. Now McCray implicated Talamentez, but the jury believed that he was so mistaken that he couldn't recognize the voice for sure. So they let Talamentez go. So, when you start analyzing the actual evidence, they only had to consider three people. All the other evidence was our conspiracy charges against the state.

Q: Do you think the jury believed the counter-conspiracy?

GARRY: Some of them believe that there was a conspiracy to kill George Jackson. I don't understand how they finally arrived at this distortion. The only way I can explain it — whether the jury will admit this or not — is that I'm sure that a deal was made. When I say a deal was made, I mean a compromise was made to let the three off and convict the other three.



...ust 21, 1971. About the San Quentin Six verdict ...Party member JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN (inset), ...ool? Who created the conspiracy? Unfortunately, ...kes and the problems that were created by the ...itself."



BPINS photo

Noted people's lawyer CHARLES GARRY, defense attorney for Johnny Spain in the San Quentin Six trial.

Q: What were some of the complexities of the San Quentin 6 case. Why did it last so long?

GARRY: Well, the main reason it lasted so long was because of Pinell, permitting Pinell to defend himself. It lasted for at least four or five months longer than it should have. And the fact that there were also six lawyers who had a right to participate in the trial. It was an unwieldy trial.

It was a trial, in my opinion, that was totally and completely unfair; it was totally unfair even to the three that got acquitted because bringing all of these six people together and allowing the conspiracy evidence to come in which brings in the kitchen sink.

This case went on in the atmosphere of a police state. The courtroom was a police state. In other words, although there's a presumption of innocence, each defendant had to prove his innocence. The prosecution did not have a case. It did not have a case when it started and when it ended up, they had even less.

The whole trial, in my opinion, was unfair.

The whole trial, in my opinion, had the atmosphere of racism.

There's no question about it. This jury that tried this case were all predoninantly White middle class with one Black, who is hardly the peer group of the six defendants. Although he probably had a generous beginning, his wife's a doctor, he works for the IRS (Internal Revenue Service), which is a pig outfit. The 'law and order" mentality was there.

It was not a fair trial. It was not a fair trial for the three who got off. By that I don't mean that these 12 jurors are racist, that these 12 jurors were unfair. What I'm saying is that these 12 jurors, with their backgrounds, were not capable or able to understand what these six men were going through. They were not able to understand and comprehend what Dr. Zimbardo, Dr. Olden and Dr. Rundle were talking about.

They were not ready to make that definitive judgement and say, "We are not going to convict these men because society is the one that should have been convicted." When I talk about society, I'm talking about the so-called state of California for its responsibility, for its creation of the Adjustment Center and its planned murder of George Jackson.

You see, the jury did not have the guts to stand up and say, "We are not going to convict. We're not going to convict because we've not been told the real story."

So again, I repeat, it was not a fair trial. It never was a fair trial, it was never intended to be a fair trial. It's impossible to get a fair trial unless you get a peer group of these defendants, these men who were on trial. When I talk about peer group, I don't mean all prisoners or inmates. I'm talking about men and women who understand and who relate to the struggles that men go through in prison and what happens to them; the role of racism, the role of unemployment, the role of unjustice in our courts and our entire society.

In our defense, along with pointing out that we didn't do it, we were also attacking the system. And this middle class jury did not have the guts — and I repeat — did not have the guts, to take on the system.

Q: Was there any aspect of the defense that now, in retrospect, you might have changed or altered?

GARRY: No, I wouldn't have changed a single thing, not one single thing. Johnny was in a state of impaired consciousness. The system created the conditions under which he found himself to be impaired. And the jury did not have the guts to say that that was the case. So they mealy mouthedly acquitted him on Count number nine, the only thing that Johnny was charged with doing. You see, everything else had nothing to do with what happened on August 21. The bullets in the soap and the escape map, that had nothing to do with August 21, not one single thing. That was never used; it kept hanging up there. I don't know whose map that was. Johnny said he knew nothing abut it.

Even if it was his, so what? We put on testimony to say that that's the only thing a human being can hang onto, is imagining or fantasizing that some day he may some day be able to get out of this rat hole. It was a cesspool that erupted on August 21.

And who created the cesspool? Who created the conspiracy? Unfortunately, three got convicted and had to pay for the mistakes and the problems that were created by the society itself.

TO BE CONTINUED

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

TWO AMERICANS KILLED

North Korea Readies Army For Renewed U.S. Attacks

(Panmunjom, Demilitarized Zone) - North Korean President Kim Il Sung has ordered his army and paramilitary Red Guard into "combat readiness," as the U.S. aircraft carrier Midway, escorted by five other warships, steamed North from Japan in the wake of the slaying of two American soldiers by a North Korean patrol.

Captain Arthur Bonifas (promoted posthumously to major) and First Lt. Mark Barrett were killed by North Korean soldiers wielding axes and metal pikes last Wednesday, August 18, as they guarded a South Korean work detail trimming a tree said to block a U.S. surveillance view.

The incident, cited as "a grave provocative act" in a North Korean broadcast, took place at the southern end of the "Bridge of No Return," the only official



U.S. Major DARRYL HENDERSON, beaten unconscious and stomped by North Koreans in 1975.

link between the two Koreas, which was used by returning Allied prisoners after the Korean war and by the released crew of the seized U.S. intelligence ship Pueblo in late 1968.

The radio broadcast from Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Korea (DRK), said that "U.S. imperialist troops" armed with "lethal weapons" attacked North Korean soldiers who protested the trimming of the tree, which was reported in an area under DRK control.

The Americans hostile actions "compelled the security personnel of our side to take a step in self-defense," the broadcast said, adding that the clash was "planned beforehand to start a war." Four American soldiers

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



Young Black South African students lead protest march.

PORT ELIZABETH "TOWNSHIPS" ERUPT IN REBELLION

(Port Elizabeth, South Africa) - The Black "townships" surrounding this southeastern, Indian Ocean resort city, center of South Africa's automobile manufacturing industry, was the scene of a major Black rebellion last week as police killed 33 people and wounded at least 28 others. Latest reports said that 31 were arrested.

Meanwhile, desperately seeking to crush the surging tide of Black resistance to the brutal White supremacist regime, the government last week made another major wave of political arrests, detaining at least 50 Black, "Colored" and Indian leaders militantly opposed to the apartheid government. The rebellion in the Port Elizabeth "townships" of New Brighton, Kwazekele and Zwide began on Wednesday, August 18, when 500 Black high school students attempted to stage a peaceful march in commemoration of the nearly 2,000 Blacks who have died in uprisings throughout the country since the June 16 Soweto revolt outside Johannesburg. The group had grown to over 4,000 by the time police moved to disperse them. When the protesters began throwing stones, the police attacked with tear gas and clubs.

Later police opened fire on the Black students who attempted to defend themselves or who set fire to government buildings, including a bank, a post office, an administration building and an unemployment office. The violence continued on into the night with some 1,000 Black demonstrators battling police.

The next day, Thursday, August 19, angry Black demonstrators set fire to a shopping center, a bank, several more government buildings and two schools.

The night before, seven classrooms and a laboratory were burned down in Orlando High School in Soweto.

Earlier in the week, on Monday, August 16, police used tear gas and clubs to break up a demonstration of over 700 "Colored" — the government's term for South Africans of Black and White heritage — students outside a courthouse near Capetown, where the week before a major protest erupted in which at least 29 Azanians (Black South Africans) were killed and hundreds wounded. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) Last week's incident in Capetown revolved around the trial of 10 "Colored" students charged with arson and other offenses during the disturbances of the previous week.

GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN

The arrests of Black, "Colored" and Indian leaders last week was part of the South African government's campaign to prevent the other two non-White groups in the country from joining the Black protest movement. Those arrested include Mrs. Winnie Mandela, a member of Soweto's Black Parents Association. Her husband, Nelson, is a longtime Azanian liberation struggle leader currently serving a life sentence on Robben Island. Mrs. Mandela has been one of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

INTERVIEW WITH MOZAMBICAN PRESIDENT AND FRELIMO LEADER, SAMORA MACHEL

"THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES IS OUR STRUGGLE"

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the conclusion of an up-to-the-minute interview with Samora Moises Machel, the much respected president of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The interview was conducted by Wilfred Burchett of the Guardian.

CONCLUSION

QUESTION: What are the essential ingredients for uniting the maximum of forces capable of being united in such countries as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia?

MACHEL: The question of unity is vital and fundamental for every country, especially colonial countries and countries engaged in struggle. Liberation movements waging struggles are aware that success depends on unity. But we have to be clear about what unity means.

One, unity is not just a mere statement. Consolidation of unity is realized through struggle. To consolidate unity, struggle must be waged. That is our experience. Struggle to consolidate unity. Struggle to safeguard unity. And what nourishes unity is armed struggle.

Two, unity defines itself afresh at every moment, in every phase according to the given platform corresponding to specific phases of the struggle. Three — and we must stress this — unity does not compromise because a handful of reactionaries, adventurists, ambitious individuals, hold themselves aloof from a united liberation movement.

If we view problems from this light, we can say that the question of unity in SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization) and the ANC (the African National Congress-South Africa) is solved. Unity must have a living and concrete content. It must not be subject to compromises of principles. This is also our experience. There can be no "unity at any price." It must be an operational unity, a functional unity. To be functional, it has to be authentic and dynamic. When the basis is false, it does not function. There can be much discussion, much signing of papers and documents — but nothing happens.

[Addressing himself specifically to the question of Zimbabwe, President Machel continued:]

There are contradictions among political personalities in Zimbabwe — traditional in the sense that they have been dragging on for almost two decades, which is very sad. These represent internal contradictions among elements of the same class with identical interests and ideologies. They are contradictions of individualist ambitions, which, without deep-rooted patriotic feelings, can become irreconcilable, insoluble. . . .

The process of armed struggle, if correctly oriented, can correctly solve this question of unity. In this respect there are two possibilities. One, political personalities will use this way and support armed struggle. In this case they will overcome personal rivalries. Two such personalities will remain aloof from armed struggle, as did certain "traditional chiefs" in Algeria. They will have no further role to play.

The process of armed struggle will form cadres who come from the masses, who represent the interests of the masses — nothing can divide them. They will understand that there is no great contradiction when the question of the masses is concerned and the method of criticism and self-criticism is applied to advance the struggle.

Q: What is the basic position of FRELIMO towards these struggles?

MACHEL: Namibia. We must be very clear that Namibia is,

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Mozambican President SAMORA MACHEL (standing) addresses village meeting.

1,000 Black Refugees Massacred In Mozambique

(Maputo, People's Republic of Mozambique) — The official news agency of Mozambique charged last week that Rhodesian troops, disguised as FRELIMO forces of Mozambique, massacred as many as 1,000 Black Rhodesian men, women and children in a brutal August 8 raid carried out on a refugee camp located at Nyazdnia, about 25 miles inside the Mozambican border. The charge disputed the Rhodesian government's story that the attack was made on a military base used by Zimbabwean (Rodesian) freedom fighters to launch attacks against Rhodesia.

Survivors among the 8,000 refugees at the Manica Province camp said that the Rhodesian troops, dressed in FRELIMO uniforms, were welcomed into the camp after shouting, "Viva FRELIMO!" Both Black and White Rhodesian soldiers took part in the massacre, with the White soldiers having blackened their faces. The Mozambican news agency report continued to say that the Rhodesian troops slaughtered 670 people once they were inside the camp. However, medical staff on the scene believe the death toll is at least 800 and may reach 1,000.

A spokesperson for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who had previously visited Nyazdnia, said upon his inspection last week that the camp had been "almost completely destroyed" and that the only way he recognized it was by a water treatment unit that had been installed there. He said that he found "10 mass graves" and had seen 500 wounded refugees. The Mozambican government reported that Rhodesian troops ordered survivors of the raid to put women and children's bodies into huts and burn them to eliminate evidence that Nyazdnia was a refugee camp.

AFRICA IN FOCUS

Rwanda

Considered the poorest country in Africa, Rwanda is threatened with a severe crisis as the result of an economic blockade imposed by neighboring Uganda. The Uganda government has stopped, and in some cases, hijacked, both imports and exports which must travel through Rwanda and Uganda to reach Indian Ocean ports. A densely populated, largely agricultural country of four million, Rwanda has received no fresh gasoline supplies for several weeks. Its coffee and tea crops — the country's only means of supporting itself — are sitting stacked on trucks from the capital city of Kugali to the border, and are in danger of rotting if they do not soon reach the city of Mobesa on the Kenyan coast.

France & South Africa

France and South Africa recently signed a $1.04 billion contract for the construction of two nuclear power plants in South Africa, *Reuters* news agency reports. French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, addressing a news conference at the end of his official visit to the West African country of Gabon, alleged that his government had taken every precaution to ensure that South Africa would not use either of the power plants directly or indirectly for military purposes.

O.A.U.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has condemned the government of Iran for supplying weapons to the White minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. An OAU communique describes Iran's military trade with the two White supremacist regimes as "this shameful and dangerous traffic", which represents "a hostile act" against all Black African countries.

Botswana

Botswanan President Sir Seretse Khama, his wife and other government officials recently visited Shaoshan, the home village of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in the People's Republic of China, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. Receiving a warm greeting from local officials and citizens, the Botswana delegation visited Chairman Mao's birth place and the exhibition hall attached to it.



MAJORITY RULE DELAYED

S.W.A.P.O. Condemns Namibia Independence Plan

(Lusaka, Zambia) - South Africa's sell-out proposals for the colonial territory of Namibia (South West Africa) — the creation of an interim "multi-racial" government to rule until independence on December 31, 1978 — were condemned here last week by the leading Black liberation movement fighting for Namibia's independence, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

A statement issued from SWAPO headquarters here said, in part: "If an interim government was formed, we would escalate the battle on all fronts, economically, diplomatically and militarily."

Attacking the proposals announced in Windhoek, Namibia, on Wednesday, August 18, by the racist South African regime as "totally lacking in legitimacy, ambiguous and equivocal," the 25-member United Nations Namibia Coucil condemned the White apartheid government for its failure to "even approach" any of the U.N.'s requirements for self-determination and independence.

Last January 30, the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution setting the deadline of August 31 for South Africa to end its illegal military occupation of Namibia and hold elections leading to majority rule for the 710,000 Black people of the territory. South Africa, however, intent upon retaining control of Namibia because of its strategic location as a buffer zone against Black-ruled southern Africa, and its rich mineral deposits, last September formed a sham "constitutional" convention to come

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COMMUNIQUE URGES 3RD WORLD ECONOMIC UNITY

NONALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE ATTACKS ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

(Colombo, Sri Lanka) - In joint actions condemning Western support of the White supremacist government of South Africa, the Fifth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries last week approved resolutions calling for an oil embargo against France and Israel for selling arms to South Africa and urged the United Nations Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo on the apartheid regime.

STRONG UNITY

The South African resolutions were indicative of the strong unity of the conference's 84 member states and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on two levels: first, the widespread support of nonaligned nations for the achievement of Black (majority) rule in South Africa; and second, their commitment to take collective steps to close the economic gap between rich and poor nations, steps that do not depend on Western developed nations.

The Nonaligned Conference attacked all arms agreements made with the South African government, with particularly harsh criticism for a recent French contract selling submarines and an Israeli agreement to sell missle carrying launches to the White racist regime.



The recent nonaligned summit conference in Sri Lanka called for the establishment of a just new world economic order.

The unity of the nonaligned nations in the four-day (August 16 to 19) meeting in this poverty-stricken southeast Asian country was significant because of the diversity of the governments in attendance — ranging from those militantly opposed to Western imperialism such as Cuba to those who maintain close economic ties with the West, such as India. The communique issued at the end of the summit meeting declared, "Economic problems have emerged as the most acute problems in international relations today."

According to a recent study made by the U.N. Conference on Trade and Agricultural Development (UNCTAD), the gap between rich and poor nations has widened in the past 20 years. Developed countries, with 20 per cent of the world's population, enjoy two-thirds of the world's income while developing nations, excluding China, have almost 50 per cent of the population but receive a scant one-eighth of the world's income.

It is generally agreed that a radical restructuring of international trade and financial relationships — a new world economic order — will have to come about in order for this gap to close.

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Rhodesian Liberation Leader Says Smith Regime Nearing Collapse

(Belgrade, Yugoslavia) — The White minority government of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) could be overthrown in months if there is no outside intervention, a leader of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle said in an interview published here recently.

Henry Maconi, the foreign policy representative of the High Command of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA), told the Belgrade newspaper *Politika*, "If the United States and Britain do not interfere, (Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian) Smith's fall may be a question of months, not years any more."

ZILA, known as the "Third Force," emerged during the past year as the chief fighting group in the armed struggle for majority (Black) rule in the breakaway British colony of Rhodesia. Original ZILA recruits were composed of progressive elements of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

Each of the three groups formerly belonged to the reactionary African National Council (ANC), an umbrella organization of Zimbabwe liberation organizations that split into bitter factions on the issue of negotiations with the Smith regime.

ANC leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa and ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, were the principal architects of the talks held earlier this year with the Smith government. The talks broke down in March due to the White settler regime's resistance to immediate majority rule in the country.

Maconi said that neither Muzorewa nor Nkomo had any influence any more and that the Black population of Zimbabwe supported ZILA's High Command be-

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Nonaligned Conference Attacks Arms Sales To South Africa

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As leader of the developed nations' economic exploitation of the Third World, the U.S. came under bitter attack. In the keynote address to the summit meeting, its chairman, Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, proposed that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace because of the expansion of U.S. military and naval facilities on the island of Diego Garcia. She called for the "dismantling" of the Diego Garcia base.

The Sri Lankan leader also blasted Israel for its "violation of international law" in the Israeli commando raid on the airport in Entebbe, Uganda.

North Korean Premier Pak Sung Chui charged that the Ford administration has an arms supply of 1,000 nuclear weapons and 400,000 troops in South Korea, and called on the nonaligned nations to demand the withdrawal of all American troops and weapons.

"Unless this danger of war is removed in advance, new war, including nuclear war, may break out again in Korea, which could be expanded to a war of Asian and worldwide scale," the North Korean premier emphasized.



Underdeveloped countries struggle hard for economic prosperity.

Accusing the U.S. of pursuing "its own arrogant and aggressive policy" in the Panama Canal Zone, Panamanian head of state General Omar Torrijos called on the conference to condemn U.S. control in the Canal Zone, noting, "The greatest reason for unhappiness in our country is the presence of a colonial enclave (the U.S.) located in the heart of our homeland with the pretext of operating the Panama Canal."

REUNIFIED VIETNAM

In its first appearance at an international meeting since the defeat of the U.S. last year, the newly reunified government of Vietnam thanked the nonaligned nations for supporting its demands for American aid to "heal the wounds of war." Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong said that his government would pursue an independent policy toward the U.S.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS

"In a world as it is, we should develop economic relations with developed capitalist countries provided that these relations conform to our independence, sovereignty and needs for development."

Yugoslavian President Josip Tito, 84 — who, along with the late Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Jawaharlal Nehru of India, organized the first nonaligned conference in 1961 — told the 1976 conference that "the Middle East is the most dangerous hotbed of crisis" and that "Israel, supported by some big powers is the main cause."□

WORLD SCOPE

New Zealand

With unemployment a hot political issue in New Zealand, the Ministry of Immigration is waging a campaign against illegal immigrants from the Pacific Islands, while announcing it will welcome White refugees from Rhodesia, *Pacific News Service* reports. In addition, Immigration Minister Frank Gill wants to issue identification cards to all New Zealanders to make detention easier.

Vietnam

The People's Republic of Vietnam, united after over a quarter century of war, officially applied to join the United Nations last week. It is expected that the U.S. will veto the application through the Security Council as long as the question of Americans missing in action since the end of the Vietnam war remains unresolved.

People's China

The first official use of Romanized script has begun in one of China's 29 administrative regions — an effort to simplify the Chinese language and make it a tool of mass education. A three-part language plan, decreed by Chairman Mao Tsetung 25 years ago, is an attempt to convert all written Chinese from a vocabulary of 50,000 different ideographs, or characters, to a simple phonetic alphabet based on the Roman letters used in written English.

Occupied Palestine

Palestinian shopkeepers in Nablus, the largest town on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, last week ended a 20-day strike against an Israeli imposed value added tax but said they would not pay the levy. A spokesperson for the Nablus merchants said they would not keep account books as demanded by the Israeli authorities, and would not collect the eight per cent tax on goods and services.

Introducing CASA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2
Mexican people against discrimination and racism. They did so as Mexican people underwent urbanization and as the Mexican population in the U.S. increased following the intense immigration from 1900-1925. Not only did the masses of immigrants become proletarianized, but groups of professionals and small merchants began to develop. It is important to note that during the 30s there developed a united front among Mexican people against racism.

The 50s were years of economic crisis, wide and intensive repression, intensification of exploitation and worker and popular struggles. As in the decade of the depression, McCarthyism used deportations and anti-Mexican sentiments to decapitate the Mexican labor movement.

We thus arrive at the decade of the 60s. The Mexican people with the rest of the people of the U.S. were recovering from the massive repression of McCarthyism. The Vietnam war with Yankee imperialist aggression kept the economy alive. There was an absence of workers' organizations except for the struggle of the farmworkers. Impelled by the struggle of the Black people for their democratic rights, Mexican organizations began to form against drug addiction, for the rights of prisoners, for better education, for parliamentary representation, for health and medical treatment, for the protection of the immigrant worker.

MASSIVE STRUGGLE

During this period, the struggle was massive, extending itself to the Southwest and the Midwest, especially Chicago. In the leadership of the movement were professionals, elements of the petty-bourgeoisie, and students. They were progressive elements, but vacillating and without a class ideology. Their lack of a social ideological base led them to invent or adopt new terms to define the Mexican nationality within the borders of the U.S. It is during this period that the political position that the Mexican nationality in the U.S. constitutes two people, the Mexican and the Chicano, develops.

By that time, the effects of the economic crisis were beginning to be felt. The first attacks against the Mexican people, directed at its undocumented sector began to take place.

Some forces continue to struggle and to make ideological advances. But it is objective conditions that drive the development of class consciousness.


Migrant workers on their way to the fields.

The repression against immigrant workers, an integral part of the working class, forced some advanced elements of the Mexican people to develop the economic, political and ideological analysis to explain the reasons for the mass migration of Mexicans to the U.S. and their persecution in the guts of imperialism.

From there the birth of CASA-HGT and its political, ideological and organizational evolution burst forth as a product of the objective economic and social conditions. CASA established its position as part of the vanguard of the Mexican people, eliminating spontaneity, inconsistency, discontinuity and poltical immaturity and began to integrate within itself elements of the working class.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

CASA-HGT would not have developed in any other social climate. Without the oppression of the undocumented worker, without the economic conditions that force the working class to rebel, without the oppression and repression that escalates, and without, at the same time, the methods of control of the working class by the capitalist class, the class consciousness needed to build CASA-HGT would not have existed.

But on the other hand, the subjective conditions are the level of consciousness that historically develop as a result of the political organizational experiences of a people in the struggle for liberation. Up to this moment CASA-HGT, despite its limitations, has been able to capture the historical moment and put forth the political positions that raise the struggle to more advanced levels.

CASA has begun the massification of the ideological struggle against the false position that we are two people, two nationalities. Its call for national unity has included progressive elements in the struggle against national oppression in general and repatriation in particular. Its analysis that immigration is an objective process produced by imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, its conception that the undocumented worker is part of the working class, have been taken up by the majority of the progressive forces and the advanced workers in the U.S. as a base for the defense of the Mexican people. Its anti-imperialist analysis and political positions regarding the Mexican people in the U.S. have raised more scientifically the position that the Mexican people are a central force in the resolution of the question of lands robbed from Mexico by Yankee imperialism in an unjust war.

CASA puts forth the position that on the historical lands of the Mexican people, the North American state has no right to question the legality of our presence in the U.S.. The worker's organization as its social base and its trade union and solidarity work with the Mexican workers' movement have destroyed the chauvinist vision of many, clarifying that the Mexican worker, independently of his legal status, is a fighter.□

Chicano Workers Fight Racism

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characteristic of a person who has lived for some time in the U.S. constitute probable cause'' for questioning Latinos.

Although community pressure forced police to issue a slightly modified version of the bulletin the policy remains the same, as evidenced by a June 23 police raid on the Latino community which resulted in the deportation of 120 people.

Last month's demonstration, sponsored by the July 31 Coalition, stressed the need for unity among all workers. After a rally at El Salvador Park featuring several speakers, music and guerrilla theater, the demonstrators marched through the Santa Ana barrio to the police station, where representatives of the coalition presented petitions demanding an end to police complicity with ''La Migra.''□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Two mass executions, with 46 people slain, were carried out in Buenos Aires, Argentina, last week, apparently by right-wing extremists in reprisal for the assassination of a retired army general. The victims, including five women, were killed by machine gun and blown up with dynamite. They apparently had been suspected of being left-wing guerrillas and/or supporters.

Haiti

Flagrantly corrupt U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) administrators and Haitian officials have prevented all but ''a tiny trickle'' of last year's $18 million in U.S. aid from reaching Haiti's impoverished peasants, the *Washington Post* reports. A generous portion of U.S. aid goes to maintain AID administrators' luxurious lifestyles — villas, servants and private clubs — or to purchase equipment from U.S. firms, instead of providing salaries for desperately *poor*, unemployed Haitians.

Puerto Rico

''Operation Bootstrap,'' a supposed economic development program launched in 1947 on the island of Puerto Rico has in the last 20 years transformed this U.S. colony into a cheap labor source and a tax haven for U.S. industry. Over 2,000 firms have been lured to the island by the offer of 10 to 25 *year* tax holidays. And, in 1974, U.S. corporate profits from investments in Puerto Rico amounted to more than the total profits from U.S. investments in all European Common Market countries combined. However, unemployment among Puerto Ricans, is now higher than it was when the program began and the island's dependent economy has entered its deepest recession to date. While the Rockefeller-run monopoly, Chase Manhattan Bank, finances a $160 million residential-resort community, the majority of the Puerto Rican people lack even rudiments of decent housing. This has all led to a rising labor militancy and the continuing call for independence, reports *Latin America and Empire Report*.

SPORTS

JACKIE ROBINSON IN PHILADELPHIA: NO "BROTHERLY LOVE"

Jackie Robinson's integration of the ranks of professional (White) baseball in 1947 was no easy feat as the barriers of racism proved resistant and hostile. Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents an account of Robinson's first road trip, to the city of Philadelphia, as a member of the Brooklyn Dodgers, written by Harold Parrott, a sports writer and traveling secretary for the Dodgers' organization. The story is excerpted from Parrott's new book, The Lords of Baseball, *and is reprinted from* The New York Times.

I remember Branch Rickey, the Old Man, telling me to pick up an extension telephone in his Brooklyn Dodger office less than a week before we — Jackie Robinson and the other players to whom I acted as confessor, valet and nursemaid as the team's traveling secretary — were to make our first road trip of 1947.

We'd been looking forward to sleepy Philadelphia as a relief from the big-city pressure cooker that New York became when Robinson broke the color line.

After all, this *was* the city of Brotherly Love, wasn't it?

Nothing ever seemed to happen in Philadelphia, good or bad. The Futile Phillies, as the writers liked to call them in the quaint sports-page jargon of the day, had been the caboose of the National League for years — undistinguished and unnoticed, but quite necessary to fill out the eight-team league.



JACKIE ROBINSON (left) and BEN CHAPMAN. When Robinson first broke baseball's "color line," Chapman displayed the racism of a hardened Southern bigot.

Robinson had never had any trouble when he played before thousands of Negroes as the shortstop of the Kansas City Monarchs.

Even the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, the house the Dodgers had used for years, didn't figure to be a problem. They'd had my rooming list, with the Black man's name on it, for almost a month, and they hadn't called me to complain. It all seemed to add up to a pleasant visit.

All these things were running through my mind as Rickey was motioning for me to pick up the extension phone.

"Herb Pennock is calling from Philadelphia," he whispered, holding a hand over his mouthpiece. "I want you to hear this. . ."

Pennock was the general manager of the Phillies.

". . .just can't bring the nigger here with the rest of your team, Branch," I heard Pennock saying, "We're just not ready for that sort of thing yet. We won't be able to take the field against your Brooklyn team if that boy Robinson is in uniform."

"Very well, Herbert," replied the always-precise Rickey. "And if we must claim the game, 9 to nothing, we will do just that, I assure you."

That was the official score of a forfeited game: 9 to 0.

When we arrived in Philadelphia and took cabs to the Franklin, I was bluntly told that there were no rooms for us.

"And don't bring your team back here," the manager snapped, "while you have any Nigras with you."

While the bellboys stacked our luggage on the sidewalk, I tried to call Carpenter and Pennock to see if they had any pull at the other hotels in town. No answer on either line, the Phillies' switchboard said. No, sorry, they couldn't be found anywhere.

I very nearly didn't try the second hotel my cabbie took me to, because the fashionable Warwick looked too plush; but I brazened it out and asked anyway, mentioning our problem. Delighted to have us, the manager told me. Of course the rates were almost twice those at the Franklin, but any port in a storm, no matter how expensive. We stayed at the Warwick for many seasons after that one.

VENOM AND FILTH

That night, Pennock had the nerve to ask me if I'd found a hotel. I didn't tell him of our good fortune, just to see if he'd come up with any helpful suggestions, but he remained silent. All the talking for the Phillies was done a few hours later by their Southern born and bred manager, Ben Chapman, and at no time in my life have I ever heard racial venom and dugout filth to match the abuse that Ben sprayed on Robinson that night.

Chapman mentioned everything from thick lips to supposedly extra-thick Negro skull, which he said restricted brain growth to almost animal level compared to White folk. He listed the repulsive sores and diseases he said Robbie's teammates would become infected with if they touched the towels or the combs he used.

He charged Jackie outright with breaking up his own Brooklyn team. The Dodger players had told him privately, he said, that they wished the Black man would go back into the South where he belonged, picking cotton, swabbing out latrines or worse.

Chapman sang this hate song almost alone at first, but soon he picked up an infantile chorus behind him on the bench. These were guys who had acquired some bravery after listening to their fearless leader clobber the defenseless Black, and who now hoped to make a hit with the boss man by parroting his lines. □



O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Promotions

(Oakland, Calif.) - Students of the Oakland Community Learning Center All Open Martial Arts Program went through two hours of strenuous tests last Thursday, August 19, as part of the promotion exercises for belt and rank advancement. The students were evaluated for either belt or rank change. RUDOLF JOHNSON (arrow) who holds a yellow belt, was the outstanding student of the martial arts exercises, with FRED MOREHEAD and BILLY OWENS (left photo), who put on a highly skilled demonstration, judged the outstanding sportsmen.

BPINS photos